Pre-tertiary transitions in the performing arts: A qualitative study of the tensions and hierarchies in widening access to a conservatoire's cultural systems.

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of St Andrews

Date of Submission
15th January 2021

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Abstract

This study investigates the lived experiences of students on 'Transitions 20/40', a pre-tertiary widening access initiative at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. Transitions 20/40 funded participants from statistically identified deprived areas in Scotland to attend 'Junior' conservatoire and short course programmes. This thesis aims to improve understanding of the implicit and explicit ways conservatoire cultures may exclude individuals from these under-represented backgrounds. The research explores the social and cultural conditions of conservatoire participation and asks if facilitating student participation in existing pre-tertiary structures is enough to meaningfully widen participation to the institution. The research also investigates how the Conservatoire can diversify its cultures, practices and priorities to include more diverse students, and if examples of good practice are already seen across different artistic disciplines.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted over a four-year period with a sample of 47 student participants across the disciplines of music, drama, dance, production and screen. The tools of Pierre Bourdieu informed the data collection and are used to conceptualise learner trajectories from peripheral positions as they move towards full participation in the Conservatoire. Analysis shows that participants who continued into undergraduate study found legitimised institutional practices that reflect their prior learning, valued their existing social and cultural capital and allowed them to focus on their creative practice. Those who had learned their creative practice outside of specific conservatoire adherent cultural systems experienced a dissonance, and laboured to gain social and cultural legitimisation there, often undertaking a degree of expectation and identity reformulation as part of Transitions 20/40.

This discussion challenges the institution to connect with more diverse communities of practice, build further on the bespoke learning opportunities

extended to students in Transitions 20/40, and further embed the widening participation agenda as a core institutional priority, to better reflect the broader society in which the Conservatoire is situated.

General acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the supervision of Professor Stephen Broad, who facilitated my own transition into the conservatoire and continues to strive to increase the reach and impact of music education in all forms and social settings. Also, to Dr Rosie Perkins for first of all influencing my approach towards this study through her own formidable research output, and then for agreeing to be my second supervisor: your reminder that it was 'only a PhD' in the context of home and family came at a pivotal moment. To Eona Craig and Chloe Dobson, who dreamt up the whole idea of Transitions 20/40, making meaningful participation in the performing arts such a life-altering reality for so many young people, far beyond the scope of the participants in this study. Eona, you still keep me on my toes to this day, and your ability to just make things happen is superhuman. To Suzanne Kay, Carole Williams, Jason Sweeney, Megan McGarrigle, Dr Angela Jaap, Atzi Muramatsu, Vanessa Coffey, Matthew Chinn, Kate Miguda, Jesse Paul and Yvonne McLellan, who all worked tirelessly and devotedly to deliver the initiative, helped me to learn more about it, and occasionally listened to what I had to say. Thanks are also due to my brother Niall, who helped with data presentation and graphic design, to my partner Susie for tolerating my *glaikit* looks, early mornings and late nights, and my children Ro and Bryn, who were not around when I started this PhD, but have frequently voiced their desire for me to finish it. Most importantly of all, to the 47 participants who gave so generously over such a long period of time… I hope this helps.

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Reading notes and acronyms

Conservatoire/conservatoire

Throughout the thesis the proper noun 'Conservatoire' will be used to describe the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland as the specific institution in which this research took place, and the common noun 'conservatoire' will be used to describe the broader educational field of specialist performing arts institutions and their shared priorities and practices.

Acronyms

ABRSM: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music

AY: Academic Year

BA: Bachelor of the Arts

BAME: Black, Asian and minority ethnic[1]

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BEd: Bachelor of Education

BMus: Bachelor of Music

BSL: British Sign Language

COSLA: Convention of Scottish Local Authorities

COWA: Commission on Widening Access

CSW: Communication Support Worker

CUKAS: The Conservatoires UK Admissions Service

CV: Curriculum Vitae

ELIR: Enhancement Led Institutional Reviews

ETTCI: Entry to the Creative Industries

FACE: Forum for Access and Continuing Education

FE: Further Education

HE: Higher Education

HEA: Higher Education Academy

[1] The BAME acronym is used purely for consistency in the context of government policy, and institutional demographic and statistical measures. The problematic nature of its reductive properties is fully acknowledged.

JCoD: Junior Conservatoire of Drama

JCoM: Junior Conservatoire of Music

JCoP: Junior Conservatoire of Production

JCoS: Junior Conservatoire of Screen

NUS: National Union of Students

NYOS: National Youth Orchestra of Scotland

PVG: Protection of Vulnerable Groups

QAA: Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education

rUK: Rest of United Kingdom (Excluding Scotland)

SFC: Scottish Funding Council

SLI: Sign Language Interpreter

SIMD: Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

SQA: Scottish Qualifications Authority

UCAS: Universities and Colleges Admissions Service

UK: United Kingdom

WACI: Widening Access to the Creative Industries

Foreword: 'Polly'

I was delivering a popular music summer school for the Conservatoire during the summer of 2016, 3 years into the longitudinal fieldwork of this research project. This was the second year of delivery of the week-long summer school, and the course served a specific purpose: to broaden the Conservatoire's curriculum at the pre-tertiary level. I was also working as a peripatetic local authority instrumental instructor in schools at the time, and one of my students, who we will call 'Polly', was an ideal fit for the course by virtue of her ability and aspirations. Polly was 15 and had just finished her fourth year in secondary school. She was pragmatic to the point of being stoic in her demeanour. She showed up for lessons with tattered sheet music, but always had it memorised. She practised hard and immersed herself in music, and before practical exams or performances there was never any drama. She had expressed a desire to become a music teacher, and was technically advanced for her age, working on Grade 7 material and having sat the Scottish Qualifications Authority's (SQA) Higher Music exam a year earlier than the rest of her year group. She had represented her school in local authority concerts and won awards for individual performances and ensemble work. She seemed to have an effortless and embodied knowledge of how music worked and could apply theory in real life contexts, which made her an excellent collaborator, musically empathetic, and able to facilitate the learning of younger students.

While she had been able to excel in a local context with an endearingly no-nonsense attitude, she had never received formal training outwith her instrumental lessons, which were 25-minutes long, in large groups and generally required her to act as a teaching assistant to support others. She had a flair for this though, and one day we researched the next steps towards becoming a music teacher, and agreed that she required ABRSM Grade 6 piano to realistically compete for a place on the BEd degree at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, the most common undergraduate route into the

music teaching profession in Scotland, and geographically, the only truly accessible option for her. She had only just finished 4th year and had two years left in the school system if she wanted them. At this point, very few of her classmates knew exactly what they wanted to do, and just before the summer holidays a few had come to tell me they were leaving full-time education altogether, having seized the opportunity to get out of school as quickly as possible.

Polly wanted to keep going, and I suggested that she investigate the popular music summer school before the school term finished as a way of getting a feel for the institution and to try and get some much-needed formal experience on her CV. Polly had two major reservations: there was a fee to attend the summer school and she had also never even seen, let alone set foot inside the Conservatoire, and had her own preconceptions about what it would be like. I asked for permission to check her postcode using the SIMD website to see if she was eligible for financial support, and her postcode was in the lowest ranked quintile, SIMD 20. I asked the Conservatoire if Polly could be funded for this course, emphasising the potential and aspirations she had, and she was accepted with a full scholarship.

Polly came on the first day, and found herself, for the first time in her life, in an opera studio, in a cohort made up of fee-paying domestic and international students who were also meeting each other for the first time. However, they all seemed to speak a common language that was somewhat alien. They shared interests, tastes, mannerisms, vernaculars and seemed extremely comfortable in their own skin and in their new surroundings, as if they had been there before. Polly also noted the other participants' expensive clothes and instruments, so I told her she could use my instrument for the week. She declined, opting to stick with what she felt most comfortable playing, and I felt bad for suggesting otherwise. Despite performing well musically, she was apologetic and shuffled in a way that made even me feel nervous. She was never the most vocal member of a group, but when she did speak, she was

funny and authoritative, speaking mainly because there was a reason to speak. In this situation she was reticent to talk or contribute to the group, and at lunch, as everybody moved into the café space and ordered coffees and paninis, Polly sat with food brought from home. She went outside alone to have a cigarette and returned to the opera studio and participated in the afternoon's activities diligently.

She was absent on the second day and the group missed her contribution, as she had very quietly assumed a pivotal musical role, leading and driving the group. She returned on the third day after I contacted her to make sure everything was ok and continued this attendance for the rest of the week. She dutifully performed well in the concert at the end, but I got the impression that it was more for my benefit than it was for hers. The concert was 30 minutes long, consisted of a few covers and original songs that had been devised during the week, and despite being billed as an 'informal' sharing, it was still staged in the incongruous setting of a conservatoire opera studio. Unsurprisingly, at the end of the week she said that the Conservatoire was not for her, but she would see me in school after summer. While everybody else swapped phone numbers and sent social media follow requests from smartphones, Polly went outside for a cigarette with her partner who I also taught in school, so I followed to say hello. Polly's partner had also found the whole situation bemusing, being so far from their social and cultural comfort zone.

I saw Polly again after summer, where she excelled in SQA Advanced Higher music, a year earlier than everybody else in her class. She once again represented the school at local authority concerts and won more awards without much fuss, while her classroom teacher took every opportunity in the packed timetable to teach her piano, but without formal lessons or time or resources, Grade 6 piano seemed unachievable. She had all but eliminated the Conservatoire from her options, and at the end of the academic year she left school to attend a music programme at an FE college, electing not to stay on until her 6th year. She was fine. She was happy.

I was not, perhaps transferring too much of my own experiences onto Polly's, but I was determined to understand the practical logic that informed her voluntary withdrawal from pursuing a conservatoire degree, or any other form of music higher education, despite being one of the most effortlessly capable students I had ever taught.

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation, indignation and social situation

As objective as every researcher should aspire to be, the motivation to investigate social phenomenon in depth over a prolonged period of time can be largely gained from the underlying belief that there is a social or political purpose to the work, fuelling the intellectual labour that is required in academic research. There is responsibility with being given a platform, and an opportunity to affect change in the world through investigation, analysis and critique of it. In this case it was a chance to explore an injustice that was personally affecting, but also deeply embedded in contemporary institutions of performing arts education.

My own experiences as a music educator and practitioner have taught me that opportunities for aspiring creatives to access the kind of advanced arts education that then leads to undergraduate study are inconsistent, and continued engagement through into the profession is even harder to sustain. I can insufficiently articulate the frustration and feelings of futility this has caused over a number of years, and this research was undertaken as an attempt to address this constructively. This work reflects the experiences of numerous colleagues, students and collaborators who have been unable to transition into formal higher education or continue creative participation in this field in the way I have, and it is certain that this will offer small consolation to them.

This thesis researches the social and cultural complexities that perpetuate unequal representation in arts education and develops the idea that it cannot be solved purely by paying for implicitly excluded students' tuition fees, something that the case of 'Polly' so vividly highlights. The research within this thesis shows that a more substantial, non-economic 'buy-in' is required from the institution, one that requires the Conservatoire to not only open its doors,

but to open its eyes and ears as well. This ‘buy in’ is disproportionately expected of the students, as the institution largely expects them to come equipped with the social and cultural resources to participate in the Conservatoire’s cultural systems without deviation. In these cultural systems, artistic value is too often seen as an objective truth, rather than as something that has been socially constructed to fulfil a specific social or cultural purpose.

This thesis takes a relativist approach underpinned by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who observed that the education system ‘tacitly demanded a public which could be satisfied with the institution because it satisfied the institution’s demands from the outset.’ (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p100). However, few individuals possess the symbolic, cultural, social or physical resources to satisfy the Conservatoire’s demands from the outset, and those who do come to dominate the field, while those that do not must fight to legitimise their position. The Conservatoire’s tacit demand for a specific type of cultural literacy perpetuates institutionally normalised hierarchies and creates a distinction between those ‘in the know’ and those who are new to the field, as the requirement for these additional symbolic resources is unclear to those who lack relevant prior experience or parental/domestic inheritance. Keeping implicit institutional demands disproportionately rigid and hidden, when these demands exist mainly in the symbolic realm, is not only a way of creating a distinction between those who are already native and those who are not, but also creates a clear divide between the institution and the societal context in which it is situated, as for many, the conservatoire appears illogical and alien in its social and cultural priorities.

Mastery of social and cultural codes is just one of many challenges those on the periphery of conservatoire culture face in moving towards full participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991). This has a cumulative effect, significantly increasing the amount of labour required of working-class or other under-represented populations, in comparison to most other conservatoire students, creating a feeling of being one step behind and contributing to a misplaced

sense of inadequacy. Exploring the nature of these challenges from the student's perspective allows the Conservatoire to critique its position in broader society and the educational field, and to challenge the arbitrary ways its practices and cultures work to exclude potential students from peripheral, non-native backgrounds by preserving and amplifying the cultural and social head-start of those who already operate confidently in the field. This is of importance not just to the Conservatoire, but to the broader field: the arts should be inclusive and representative of broader society, and failing to be inclusive and representative projects unhelpful judgements outwards about who art is for, and serves to limit those who should otherwise feel they can create it. The arts need representative voices: they should be diverse and cross-sectional, and would be indulgent, vacuous pursuits if taught, learned, appreciated and created by only a pre-disposed population who are able to engage with specialised training institutions and life-long practices because of the circumstances of their social and cultural origin. 'Polly' should not have felt alien in the Conservatoire, or have felt unable to perform in the way I knew she could: she was capable of contributing with skill and purpose, of developing a practice that utilised her differences in prior learning, of being a socially-situated, aware, and vitally important part of the performing arts ecology. Instead she chose not to play the game, because she saw that the rules worked against her and quickly concluded that she had little chance of winning.

This thesis addresses the hidden structures, tensions and hierarchies that shape participation in a pre-tertiary conservatoire, using a qualitative, phenomenological approach to explore participant experiences. In this chapter, we first consider the broad societal and institutional context which frames these individual experiences, before outlining the specific research aims and research questions.

1.2 Who are the arts for?

Prior to the sector wide crisis stemming from the Covid-19 pandemic, there was a widespread perception that the performing arts were becoming increasingly 'elite-dominated' (Alipoor, 2018). The gentrification of the creative industries in the UK had been well documented from the time that this research project began: In 2013 there had been a wave of critical press attention towards the acting profession's domination by students of Britain's elite public schools (O'Hagan, 2014), including observations that 'opportunities for working class actors on stage and screen' (Sherwin, 2014) were becoming so scarce that a 'messy kid from a council estate' (ibid.) was increasingly unlikely to forge an acting career. This discourse continued throughout this research project and in 2018, a national survey found that 17% of UK music makers were educated at fee paying schools, compared to 7% of the population as a whole (UK Music, 2018), despite musicians arguably undertaking a more symbolically, rather than economically, rewarding career.

In the multi-disciplinary report 'Panic', Brook, O'Brien and Taylor (2018) found that the creative industries' 'demographics of its workers, their social origins, and their networks are relatively homogeneous' (Brook, O'Brien and Taylor, 2018, p34) all but dismissing any notion of proportional class, race and gender representation in the broader field. Any idea of the arts being a meritocracy was perpetuated only by the white, middle-class males who still occupy the majority of well-paid positions (Brown, 2018), in no small part caused by the convention of going through periods of unpaid work, cashing in on social capital, and conforming to existing cultural expectations of the professional field (ibid.). The arts were already in crisis.

There were increasingly obvious structural reasons for this, with one being a lack of educational equity. Arts education in England has become particularly scarce in state schools (Tambling, 2018) and in Scotland, local authority instrumental services are being continually threatened, truncated or subjected

to prohibitive charging structures (Broad et al., 2019). Again, beyond the obvious support this removes for students who cannot privately fund tuition, it seems to project something much more troubling about the societal role and purpose of music and the arts, particularly in who they are for. Looking across disciplines, preliminary desk research showed that music has, by far, the most comprehensive and robust opportunity structures of any artistic discipline in this study (Broad and Duffy, 2005; Clark, 2012), painting an even bleaker picture about the fragility of routes into the arts in Scotland. Several well-publicised Creative Scotland funding cuts, like those to the Scottish Youth Theatre in 2018 (SYT, 2018) have contributed to the conspicuous gaps in drama and dance provision, making it seem like the arts are indeed becoming elite cultural activities for a chosen few. Thankfully, the issue of unequal access to arts education has come to prominence within public discourse due to the growing number of parliamentary petitions and lobbying groups, like #changethetune, who seek positive change and prioritisation of the arts in Scottish education. Historically, the egalitarian model of music education in Scotland has been a source of national pride, and former Conservatoire principal John Wallace noted that the Scottish public would not accept a draconian severance of comprehensive arts education, thanks in part to 'a groundswell of opinion throbbing through the Scottish media' (Broad, et al. 2019) that indicates that the arts are a part of Scottish education and cultural identity perceived to be worth fighting for.

1.3 Scotland's national conservatoire

The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (RCS) is a major player in this national fight. The RCS is the only small specialist institution in Scotland that specifically provides advanced practical training in the performing arts. Historically, the RCS (referred to throughout this thesis as 'the Conservatoire' in opposition to the broader 'conservatoire' field) has always striven to be seen as a socially-conscious institution, starting as The Athenaeum in a rented premises in 1847, with an initial membership of 1,612 (Matchett and Spedding, 1997, p16). The Athenaeum's remit was broad, providing tuition in

Music, Grammar, Elocution, Mathematics, Logic, French, German, Italian, Philosophy, Literature and Languages. A note from the Athenaeum's original minute book in 1847 stated that it should 'provide a source of mental cultivation, moral improvement and delightful recreation to all classes' (Harris-Logan, 2020). Widening access to education and recreation was a guiding principle and a core institutional priority, even if it had been articulated in a slightly irksome, but well-meaning Victorian manner.

Music's role in the Athenaeum was 'initially modest' (Matchett and Spedding, 1997, p18) and the dramatic arts were not seriously considered for specialist study until much later. The purchase of a dedicated building in 1888 saw music gradually come to dominate other subjects before the Glasgow Athenaeum (Limited) School of Music was founded in 1890. By the end of the First World War student numbers of varying ages, stages, subjects and educational pathways had risen to 3,000 (ibid, p29). The institution benefited greatly from wealthy benefactors including millionaire socialist Sir Daniel Macauley Stevenson, who firmly supported the promotion of music education within the Athenaeum, and was largely responsible for its transformation into the Scottish National Academy of Music in 1929 (ibid, p30).

It was during William Gillies Whittaker's tenure as principal, from 1930-1941, that the 3-year diploma in music education, later becoming the BEd, was introduced to train prospective music teachers (Matchett and Spedding, 1997, p34). Other innovations during this period included the introduction of music history lectures, concerto classes and the study of opera, which had been scarcely approached until this point. Following Whittaker's retirement, the 'Royal' prefix was added in 1944 (RCS, 2016) and the College of Dramatic Art was formally introduced in September 1949 with 'the main objective […] to train actors, directors and eventually, technicians for the professional theatre' (Matchett and Spedding, 1997, p96).

The College of Dramatic Art's original modes of delivery did not differ greatly from current ones, with a focus on small class sizes and practical training. 'Junior' courses were introduced during the 1950s initially as a way of providing staff with more teaching hours (ibid, p100). These evening, part-time and Saturday morning courses organically developed into preparatory courses for full-time professional acting programmes. In 1963, then principal Henry Havergal prioritised the development of the Junior Academy of Music, seeing its student numbers rise to 1250 (ibid, p55), facilitating progression to advanced study for pre-tertiary music students. The institution officially became the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (RSAMD) in 1968 (ibid, p109) and, through the University of Glasgow, became the first UK conservatoire to teach to a formally accredited degree level in 1981. New purpose-built premises were opened in 1988, reuniting the music and drama departments under one roof, following a period of drama 'outsourcing' caused by a lack of capacity in the Athenaeum building.

Following early acquisition of its own degree awarding powers in 1993 (RCS, 2016) and the introduction of the BA in Scottish music in 1996 (Dickson and Duffy, 2013) and the BMus in Jazz in 2009 (RCS, 2020b), the RSAMD became notable in the breadth of study it offered. The one or two-year diplomas and certificates in theatre production that had existed since the early days of the college of drama, subsequently became the BA in Stage Management Studies in 1997 (Matchett and Spedding, 1997, p117) and the RSAMD created a pathway for devising theatre in the Contemporary Theatre Performance degree (Heddon and Milling, 2006, p288.) The RSAMD finally introduced dance and screen provision and became the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in 2011 (RCS, 2016), reflecting a curriculum that now stretched across five artistic disciplines. Since 2011 all five disciplines have been taught to degree level and a modern purpose-built facility at Speirs Lock has expanded the student capacity. The institution's academic diversity continued to expand throughout this fieldwork, most notably with the introduction of the BA Performance in British Sign Language and English in 2015.

The point of this truncated history is this: The institution has undergone considerable reform at almost every point of its existence. Working to rectify a deeply embedded, but relatively arbitrary cultural hierarchy in the broader field, can perhaps be quicker executed at the institutional level, especially at a conservatoire that has been historically unafraid of change.

1.4 The Conservatoire's role

As socially situated and progressive as the Conservatoire has proven to be, criticisms of elitism have been frequently levelled at the RCS (McLaughlin, 2019) and the conservatoire sector as a whole (Caizley, 2019). Unsurprisingly, these criticisms have not been unwarranted. Admissions data from 2013 showed that only 7% of UK Conservatoires English and Welsh undergraduate applications came from the lowest quintile[2] of POLAR 2 Rankings, and only 11% from the second lowest.[3] Scotland's Conservatoire performed slightly better than the rest of the UK (rUK), however direct comparison between the RCS and rUK conservatoires is problematic, as Scottish education does not record the socio-economic background of students using POLAR rankings, which is in itself based on participation rates in Higher Education (RCS, 2014, p7). The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) is used in POLAR's place, in which the RCS performs comparatively well. 24% of the RCS's 2013/14 intake came from the lowest ranked 40% of the population using the SIMD 2012 (ibid.), which compared favourably with the 18% POLAR 2 representation for rUK conservatoires. However, given the disparity of representation between the lowest ranked SIMD areas and the highest ones, there was little cause for commendation.

For the RCS to act upon the groundswell of public opinion in 2013, while reflecting the very specific training required of potential conservatoire students, a distinctive solution was required to allow more diverse groups and

[2] 198 Undergraduate Applications of a potential 2688 UK domiciled applicants were from Quintile 1 using POLAR 2 rankings, which was used to measure participation in Higher Education at in 2013.
[3] 304 Undergraduate Applications from Quintile 2.

classes to access Scotland's national Conservatoire as it was originally conceived.

1.5 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)

In devising a strategic approach to widening access, the RCS had to work with and understand the criteria by which it would be measured. The SIMD is a widely employed government tool adopted by the Scottish Funding Council (SFC), the national public body that funds Scotland's 19 Universities and 25 colleges, to measure the socio-economic background of Higher Education (HE) students. The SIMD divides Scotland into 6505 geographic areas, or datazones, that average around 800 residents each. These datazones are comparable with national census output areas, and are commonly found using postcode information, which potential applicants have more likelihood of knowing. The SIMD is revised every few years, and the SIMD 2012 was in use during the fieldwork for this study. The SIMD 2012 ranked Scotland's 6505 datazones in relation to each other according to their score in 7 domains: Income (using statistics on Income Support, Job Seekers Allowance, Tax credit households), Employment (using statistics on unemployment or incapacity benefit), Crime (Using statistics on reported violent crimes, sexual offences, domestic housebreaking, vandalism, drug offences and common assault), Education (using statistics on school absences, individuals with no qualifications, students working at SQA stage 4 and 17-21 year old enrolment in education), Health (using statistics on Standardised Mortality Ratio, hospital stays for alcohol and drug use, low birth weight and prescriptions for anxiety and mental illness), Housing (using statistics on overcrowding and lack of central heating) and Access (using average drive time to road network, public transport timetable and route data, primary schools, petrol stations, GP surgeries, post offices and population weighting).

Despite the effort to produce a rounded measure, the SIMD 2012 had inherent flaws, and the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics department that

gathered the data were cognizant of this.[4] Firstly, the SIMD 2012 could not identify individual deprivation, but only geographic probability of it, an issue that was especially problematic in rural areas (Perring, 2006, p4). Secondly, it could not account for changes over time, which in some way was mitigated by an SFC review of the SIMD 2012 that accounted for population changes based on new housing developments in December 2014. These two factors often led to baffling cases of individuals self-identifying as relatively affluent despite being told they were materially deprived by the SIMD. Likewise, applicants who were self-evidently excluded, perhaps living in residential care homes or in receipt of the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA), were frequently not in geographically recognised SIMD 20/40 datazones.

Despite these shortcomings, the SIMD 2012 was widely accepted to be the best available tool at the time and practically, like the POLAR ranking south of the border, the SIMD delineated specific divisions for which educational participation would be measured. The SIMD used quintile divisions that became known as SIMD 20, SIMD 40, SIMD 60 and SIMD 80, and it was SIMD 20 and SIMD 40 quintiles that government policy, in this, enacted through the SFC, had come to focus on.

1.6 Scottish HE policy and context

Scotland, possibly as a result of its lack of tuition fees, was slower to formalise widening participation than the rUK (Weedon, 2016, p92). SIMD 20/40 representation remains a significant concern across the HE sector, amplified by a number of irrefutable sectoral publications that have guided state policy and funding. While most agreed that there is a problem, no one was quite sure how to solve it. The National Union of Students (NUS, 2012) paper 'Unlocking Scotland's Potential' outlined that there is *'*no single factor to explain the poor rates of access to our universities' (ibid*,* p6) for students from deprived areas. It draws on UK wide research commissioned by the Joseph

[4] See Appendix 6 for report on SIMD training event at RCS.

Rowntree Foundation by Cummings, et al. (2012), Gorard, See and Davies (2012) and Kintrea, St Clair and Houston (2011). Their work questions the 'received wisdom' that access to HE is linked to a lack of aspiration, attitudes or behaviors (AABs) in particular cultural, geographic or class backgrounds (Carter-Wall, 2012). As anticipated, insufficiently robust data exists to substantiate any correlation or causation between AABs and HE participation, with the only available sources coming from largely anecdotal or 'bolted-on' research, attached to interventions that focus on softer extra-curricular activities with harder-to-measure impacts on educational outcomes.

Moving the emphasis in Scotland away from AABs, 'Unlocking Scotland's Potential' recommended that there should be more robust connections, or transitions, between different stages of education, and more research into the protracted learning journeys of students. This led to the 'Learner Journeys' paper (HEA and NUS, 2013) which maps student pathways towards HE and outlines quite clearly the difficulties marginalised young people face in transitioning between different stages of education. It was determined that to widen access to HE more effectively, students from deprived backgrounds need to experience high-quality, easy transitions.

Meanwhile, the Scottish Government introduced enforceable widening access targets into institutional Outcome Agreements (NUS, 2012, p7), which 'set out what colleges and universities plan to deliver in return for their funding' (SFC, 2019). Academic Year (AY) 2014-15 saw the Scottish Government establish the Commission on Widening Access (COWA), which took a nationwide view on best practice towards increasing participation in HE in direct response to the Scottish First Minister's 2014 Programme for Government speech (Sturgeon, 2014). A few years later COWA published their 'Blueprint for Fairness' (2017), which sought to offer more robust guidance for institutions, and other organizations like the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) increased their attention on the student experience and on the facilitation of transitions between different stages of education leading into, through, and out of higher

education (QAA, 2018). The Conservatoire engaged with the QAAs 3-year 'Transitions' Enhancement Theme, a programme of rolling enhancement projects collaboratively implemented by the HE sector in Scotland. This was in addition to activity conducted as part of the Enhancement-led Institutional Review (ELIR) which was implemented at the institutional level, and included activities that mapped a transitional model of a musical theatre artist in development; health and wellbeing support for ballet dancers; and a Transitions tutor mentoring scheme for undergraduate students (RCS, 2017).

The specific problem the Conservatoire faced in facilitating high-quality transitions in the performing arts was that they were, by their nature, very rarely easy, and even more difficult to superimpose on the existing Conservatoire curriculum. As we will come to see in the following chapter, 'struggle' and 'resilience' are accepted conditions of conservatoire culture, and conservatoire transitions into undergraduate programmes are generally the result of protracted and embodied experience in the field. In short, there are no short cuts into a conservatoire, and any attempt to shorten the length of journey is often seen as an attempt to 'lower standards'. Indeed, one member of the Transitions 20/40 team recalls a member of the institutional board commenting publicly at a conference keynote delivered by the newly appointed Commissioner for Widening Access, that 'This whole agenda is totally terrifying and is shaking this esteemed institution to its foundations'.

So, despite the potential for change, there were clearly core institutional dispositions, held by those in positions of power, which worked against widening access and participation. Indeed, the RCS already believed that it operated its 'own unique variant of a contextualized admissions process which takes account of the whole person (and in person, through individual audition)' (RCS, 2014, p5). However, the RCS also conceded that they were largely unable to predict how any intervention could impact on the performance of students from SIMD 20/40 datazones in auditions, despite

taking less account of traditional academic attainment in the admissions process.

The Junior Conservatoire provides the most obvious institutionally legitimised access route into the degree programmes with between 29-39% of Scottish domiciled BMus students consistently coming through the JCoM (RCS, 2014, p6). Similarly, RCS Short Courses also provide CPD and access to degree programmes, but had only 19% SIMD 20/40 student representation in 2012/13 (ibid.), as all courses charged fees, with the exception of the SFC supported 'Entry to the Creative Industries' that targeted low progression rate schools. Interview data gathered for this thesis shows that, prior to Transitions 20/40, participation and continued engagement with the JCoM and Short Courses was not only governed by the ability to pay these fees, but that quality transitions were often forged outwith both the school and conservatoire classroom, studio or rehearsal room.

Therefore, to rise to the challenge of the Scottish Government and the SFC in 2013, the RCS needed to meaningfully engage with marginalized learners, and to find a solution to this period of cultural immersion. It was already clear that meaningful and connected transitions into undergraduate programmes require potential applicants to receive specialist tuition much further back in the educational journey than the audition stage, but this conversation had to move beyond skills training: the conversation should also include scrutiny of the legitimised conservatoire pathways and the lived experience of institutional culture.

There had been prior institutional attempts to create a meaningful access and participation agenda at the Conservatoire, with the most notable evidence coming from a 1997 feasibility study which centred around 'outreach activity' to help undergraduate students at the RSAMD gain valuable teaching experience (Jones, 1997). However, the focus now had to be on facilitating valuable learning experiences. To build on these prior, sometimes naïve, but

always well-intentioned efforts, some heavily engaged, passionate and pro-active individuals working in Short Courses and the Junior Conservatoire constructed the plan for Transitions 20/40 that was operationalised in 2013, and within this plan was funding for a doctoral student to work alongside the initiative to advance this discourse.

1.7 A conservatoire in transition

Following a successful tender in the spring of 2013, the RCS was awarded just over £1.5 million by the SFC to 'attract more pupils from poorer backgrounds to study drama, music and ballet at its junior conservatoire' (Denholm, 2013). This money was awarded in addition to the Conservatoire's core funding to implement Transitions 20/40, which funded young people from SIMD 20/40 datazones to attend the Conservatoire's preparatory courses, including Juniors, short courses, and evening and weekend classes. This institutionally-devised solution took previous research on board, acknowledging that the RCS had very specific requirements of its prospective students' prior learning, and sought to mitigate the barriers that the Conservatoire's existing institutional practices and cultures created through their extensive prior training requirements, and perhaps to embed the extra-curricular elements and implicit expectations that were *actually* sought in conservatoire auditions. Transitions 20/40 funding became an integral part of the institution's Outcome Agreement with the SFC.

1.8 Implementation of Transitions 20/40

Transitions 20/40 outlined a clear set of objectives in its Four-Year Implementation and Action Plan which covered the entire fieldwork period between 2013-2017. The £1,548,000 award was distributed over four years in a way that increased annually and covered the £3000 average cost of delivery for each participant. This £3000 covered 150 hours of funded tuition, as well as regular meetings with a non-discipline-specific mentor, regular meetings with a discipline-specific tutor who negotiated the student's Personal Learning Plan (PLP), and contributions towards the cost of materials, equipment or

performance tickets. Additional contributions were also made towards the provision of Communication Support Workers (CSWs) and Sign Language Interpreters (SLIs) as the initial cohort included individuals recruited through Solar Bear's Deaf Youth Theatre. This first cohort of 40 students entered Transitions 20/40 in the academic year (AY) of 2013/14, and ranged across the three artistic disciplines of music, dance and drama. This initial cohort was 8 below its target, illustrated below using data from the initial funding bid.

2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17
Music: 24	Music: 48	Music: 72	Music: 72
Dance: 12	Dance: 12	Dance: 12	Dance: 12
Drama: 12	Drama: 24	Drama: 36	Drama: 36
	Production: 12	Production: 24	Production: 36
	Screen: 12	Screen: 24	Screen: 36
Target= 48	**Target= 108**	**Target= 168**	**Target= 192**
Actual (FTE)= 40	**Actual (FTE)= 104.5**	**Actual (FTE) = 124.5**	**Actual (FTE)= 172**

Fig. 1. Transitions 20/40 recruitment targets from 2013 funding bid with actual recruitment numbers.

The under-recruitment occurred in dance, which at this point exclusively provided classical ballet training. In 2013/14, music was delivered only through the existing Junior Conservatoire pathway, but drama offered multiple 'bespoke' learning pathways in which students could determine how their 150 hours of funding was to be used, from a selection of short courses, summer schools and evening and weekend classes. The disciplines of production and screen were added in AY 2014/15 and also initially struggled with recruitment. The institutions and communities of practice that these courses could recruit from were harder to identify than in music, drama or dance, due to the lack of formal educational pathways and more sporadic provision already discussed,

and in 2014, Creative Scotland conceded that 'routes into film careers and skills provision across the screen sector should be better co-ordinated' (Creative Scotland, 2014). However, both screen and production became popular routes into the Conservatoire, offering parallel Junior Conservatoire and Short Courses options for Transitions 20/40 students.

As the initiative progressed it became clear that conservatoire transitions and trajectories were not as neat as the initial bid had assumed. The ambiguity of student-directed outcomes in terms of reaching their self-defined 'positive destinations' at the end of their interaction with Transitions 20/40 led to the introduction of pro-rata provision of funded places. This meant that if a student perhaps transitioned into an FE college, but still intended to attend the Conservatoire, they might be offered a reduced number of hours to continue participation in the programme. This part-time provision in effect increased the actual number of Transitions 20/40 students, and the already formidable pastoral workload of what was initially only one part-time administrator and one part-time co-ordinator continued to grow. It also became hard to predict how many students would stay on the programme from year to year, as transitions were often dependent on the outcome of auditions, as well as the compliance with the appropriate age and stage guidelines for Juniors provision. Some students would change artistic discipline, particularly between drama, production and screen.

Despite the relative rigidity of early provision, Transitions 20/40 began, from necessity, to incorporate more diverse pathways for potential students, and the data collected for this thesis shows that this demonstrably increased the opportunities for students from SIMD 20 backgrounds in particular, by connecting with the more diverse prior experiences they had. By the end of the fieldwork, the team had grown (slightly), and there were more pre-tertiary pathways available in composition, jazz, traditional music, contemporary dance, and musical theatre, connecting with the Conservatoire's more diverse undergraduate programmes. The key was to not only attract students from

SIMD 20 (and 40) areas to the programme, but also to retain them in a meaningful educational experience. Other important developments included the introduction of a Crediting Attainment and Achievement in Transition (CAAT) Module, set at SCQF 6[5] to offer a formal qualification, and the introduction of interdisciplinary collaborations and Student Forums, implemented and delivered by the Transitions 20/40 Team.

This is where this research joins the narrative, having established the broader issues of class-based exclusion to the arts, perceptions of the Conservatoire, the institutional history and the specific political context in which the fieldwork will now build upon. Transitions 20/40 was a dynamic solution to all of these intersecting interests, and now the intention is to learn from it.

1.9 Introduction to thesis aims

This thesis aims to recount the experiences of a more diverse range of individuals than is normally heard in conservatoire research, particularly in relation to socio-economic circumstances and social class, even if SIMD status does not always accurately align with these factors. In looking at the social context and organisation of this particular conservatoire, and the positioning of widening participation activity within it, this thesis aims to dispel the idea that widening participation students are automatically enabled to take advantage of every opportunity within a conservatoire, and that widening participation initiatives like Transitions 20/40 are acts of benevolence to those that would otherwise be unable to participate. In reality, conservatoire participation is much more nuanced, both in its artistic and aesthetic priorities, and in its social and cultural construction. This thesis asks what other, less tangible dimensions impact on student transitions and participation in the pre-tertiary conservatoire. This research challenges the Conservatoire to become more cognizant of arbitrary distinctions that have been constructed, learned and replicated, over time, to create an un-necessary distance between the institutional culture and broader society.

[5] See Appendix 5 for SCQF Framework.

My own position as an educator and practitioner inevitably pre-disposed me towards this study and influenced the approach and the construction of these research questions. I am not impartial, and when also considering that the doctoral study itself was partially funded by the Conservatoire, there is a necessity to embed this potential bias into the entire thesis. The reflexive role of the studentship will be discussed further in the methodology, addressing its influence in the development of the relativist ontology and the emic epistemological approach that underpinned the data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the professional experiences and circumstances of my own learning journey, which had connected largely informal and non-formal learning experiences with a successful transition into higher education, meant that Transitions 20/40 had the potential to strengthen and widen a fragile transitional pathway that I had been very lucky to negotiate, but which had had negatively determinant effects on the careers and educational journeys of many of my students and contemporaries.

I wanted Transitions 20/40 to work, because if it fulfilled its intended purpose, it could be as important a landmark in the history of the RCS as the decision to focus on performing arts education, the introduction of junior provision, the endowment of degree awarding powers, or the extensive curriculum reform it had undergone in the past decade. Inevitably, Transitions 20/40 would work for some but not others, and the aim of this research project was to determine who it worked for and why, to identify hierarchies, to critique the objectives and intentions of Transitions 20/40, to clarify what it did and what it did not do, to suggest further areas of development towards creating as accessible and diverse an artistic field as was possible, and to ensure the '*messy kid from the council estate'* was not excluded for arbitrary reasons.

2. Literature and Conceptual Review

This thesis contributes to a growing area of educational research that frames conservatoires as distinct educational institutions with unique priorities and conventions (Perkins, 2013a; 2013b). The conservatoire sector has undertaken a substantial amount of self-reflection in recent years (Duffy, 2013), seeing a demonstrable paradigm shift (Gaunt, 2016) in its research priorities from introspection and conservation, towards a more critical discourse that situates these small specialist institutions in the contemporary cultural industries and broader societal contexts. It has been increasingly questioned if specialism is worth preserving in conservatoire pedagogy, given that the cultural industries now require graduates with much broader skills beyond their specific disciplines (Ford and Sloboda, 2013). Even with this paradigm shift, this current study, although not ontologically ground-breaking, is unique in its examination of conservatoire cultures across so many different disciplines, and is particularly distinctive in its focus on the pre-tertiary conservatoire (Stabell, 2018). This makes defining the scope of literature somewhat problematic, requiring a degree of curation in terms of what feeds into this work.

The majority of research on conservatoires predictably focusses on music education and as a result largely evaluates the conservatoire on its own self-legitimising musical criteria. The existing literature also demonstrates that the prioritisation of musical outcomes over, and often at the expense of social ones is a culturally-accepted convention of western classical music institutions (Baker, 2014). This thesis openly challenges this convention in keeping with the more recent academic discourse on the social and cultural construction of conservatoires, which has moved away from the predominantly ethnomusicological approach adopted in the ground-breaking work of Henry Kingsbury (1988) and Bruno Nettl (1995), to adopt a more diverse range of methodologies and epistemological approaches. While Kingsbury and Nettl

brought relativist approaches to the field in the 1980s and 1990s respectively, the prioritisation of musical ends over social and cultural construction was still palpable in their work.

More recent research has built on Kingsbury and Nettl's foundations by becoming more provocative and critical of conservatoire practices and purposes (Gaunt, 2016; Renshaw, 2013) and openly eschews dubiously objective constructs of 'talent' and musical worth. An emergent sociological discourse on conservatoires now straddles two broadly intersecting fields of educational research and cultural production, particularly in music (Wright, 2010; Perkins, 2013a, 2013b; Burnard, Hofvander-Trulsson and Söderman, 2015), laying the groundwork for this study to apply similar frameworks and phenomenological epistemological approaches to a comparative study that looks across disciplines. Both educational and cultural fields have been influenced by sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, despite Bourdieu never directly addressing the *production* of music, ballet or drama specifically (Reay, 2017, pxvii).[6] There are transposable commonalities in his studies of the visual art (Bourdieu, 1996) and literary worlds (Bourdieu, 1993), and his educational research (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) had an obvious influence on the language and approach of the COWA, NUS, SFC and SIMD publications that informed the Scottish HE sector's approach to widening access and participation. The work of Diane Reay (Reay, 1995, 2001, 2004, 2015a, 2015b, 2017; Reay, David and Ball, 2005; Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009) is also particularly influential in this field, as one of the most consistent and authoritative voices from, and on, working class and non-traditional students. Reay uses Bourdieu's tools as an ontological frame to conceptualize the marginalised university student experience in contemporary Britain, and it is with Bourdieu that the discussion begins, outlining the broadest theoretical constructs employed in this thesis.

[6] Bourdieu had extensively investigated the consumption of music in Distinction (1984)

2.1.1 Bourdieu: Key Terms

> Roulette, which holds out the opportunity of winning a lot of money in a short space of time, and therefore of changing one's social status quasi-instantaneously, and in which the winning of the previous spin of the wheel can be staked and lost at every new spin, gives a fairly accurate image of this imaginary universe of perfect competition or perfect equality of opportunity, a world without inertia, without accumulation, without heredity or acquired properties, in which every moment is perfectly independent of the previous one.
> (Bourdieu, 1986, p46)

Bourdieu shaped the field of educational research in the latter part of the 20th century by challenging a meritocratic discourse that assumed individual agency in educational destiny, above the limiting impact of both physical institutions and social structures. In Bourdieu's view, individuals are only accountable for day-to-day decisions and improvisations to an extent, on both a conscious and unconscious level, and by introducing a way of thinking about 'incorporated structures' (Bourdieu, 1986) Bourdieu ascribed a much-needed historicity and social context to these decisions and improvisations, as well as the power individuals have to enact them. While individuals retain some agency over educational choices and vocational position-taking, the extent of this agency is limited by structural forces based on the position of the individual in the field of power. He also theorized, through empirical investigation, that structures become embodied and embedded within individuals, and inform their practical actions, rather than institutions explicitly acting to exclude individuals through their selection criteria or pedagogical functions. Bourdieu constructed this relational sociology (Pappiloud and Schultze, 2018) using the concepts of *capital, field* and *habitus* to articulate subjective abstractions of the social world, which help to define and account for unseen interactions between individuals in relation to institutions and cultural systems. The idea is to formulate a sense of relatively explainable *practical logic* that informs how individuals negotiate social spaces and work to construct and legitimise fields, (Bourdieu, 1990, p192), rather than suggest that the fields themselves are static and overly determinant.

2.1.2 Bourdieu: Field

Fields are still frequently misconstrued, despite being among Bourdieu's less contested concepts (Hilgers and Mangez, 2015.). A *field* is seen as a 'social space' (Perkins, 2013a) as much as, if not more so than, a physical one, within which individuals take up positions that range from autonomous and dominating, to heteronomous and dominated. Whether physically demarcated or symbolic, Bourdieu's fields are 'objective structures' (Bourdieu, 1998) that have reciprocal relationships with the individuals that populate and legitimise their rules and practices, commonly referred to as *doxa*. Bourdieu's field theory varies from prior definitions because a) the objective structures are socially constructed and maintain their social constitution through the continuation of legitimised practices that define the field (Hilgers and Manez, 2015) and b) they are largely seen as fluid and changing, based upon the behavior of those within the field, and the power relations with other fields, in its own struggle for external legitimacy (ibid.). Individuals move through these hierarchies from a dominated to dominant position of power within the field, and thus serve to influence the field's construction and alter its conventions. The fields that Bourdieu empirically investigates are complex and, while not directly related to music, drama or dance, remain illustrative of how the concept of field can be applied as an ontological tool in other social or cultural contexts. Two especially useful examples are Bourdieu's examination of the literary field (Bourdieu, 1996, p6) and of the broader *Field of Cultural Production* (Bourdieu, 1993). While Bourdieu shows these fields to have similarities in their power relations and social construction, he stresses that fields are site-specific given that each social situation is different (Bourdieu, 1996, p183).

The rules, or doxa, of one field are therefore not generalisable to another, with each field being socially, geographically and historically situated, externally governed, and internally governing its own priorities and values. This is of particular relevance to this study given the potential for interdisciplinary comparison. Even in these small social and cultural systems within the same

institution, unreflective application of the rules or doxa of one field to another would be an ontological misstep, as the individuals, power relations and legitimised practices that socially construct them could be starkly different.

2.1.3 Bourdieu: Habitus

Habitus, perhaps Bourdieu's most contested tool (Nash, 1999; Reay, 2004), is one that effectively operationalises the dynamic structure of the field and how it becomes embodied in the individual. Consideration of an individual's internalisation of the field's doxa, their 'feel for the game' (Webb, et al., 2002, p38) and the possibilities and opportunity structures that exist based on accumulated resources, helps conceptualise habitus. Habitus exists at the unconscious level and consists of personal dispositions, expectations, prejudices, personal histories and the perspective from the current position in the field. Habitus is initially governed by social origin, which leaves a lasting and durable footprint on unconscious practical action, even if the individual transcends the material or symbolic conditions of this formative period (Reay, 2017). Habitus can manifest in how individuals behave or project themselves to the outside world, based on where they feel most native, and the implicit structural expectations of what they should be or do. Habitus for performing artists can be shaped by their initial engagement with the arts, their previous performance experience (positive or negative), the presence of music, dance or drama in their upbringing, previous modes of learning, and how culture is used or viewed as social and cultural tool in their field of social origin. Habitus is constructed over time, and affects *how* individuals unconsciously negotiate the field, based on what opportunities are achievable, natural and logical to them, frequently linked to their socio-economic status or class background. This link is reinforced when individuals still require the accumulated resources used as currency in fields to achieve an autonomous position of power within them. Bourdieu views this currency as a form of *capital,* which expands on the limited economic Marxist definition of the same term.

2.1.4 Bourdieu: Capital

In Bourdieu's conceptualisation, *capital* comes in a number of forms; *cultural, social, symbolic* or *economic* (Bourdieu, 1986), all of which are tradeable resources that dictate what opportunities are available to those that possess them. An individual's habitus and location in the field are therefore relative to what capital the individual possesses. Capital, much like the traditionally accepted economic resource, can be inherited or accumulated (ibid.), equated with power and autonomy, and ascribed exchange value dependent on the differing social construction of cultural fields. In the context of the present study, *social capital*, for example, might be accrued through contacts for performance opportunities which could result in the accumulation of *economic capital* or strengthened relationships with insiders in the conservatoire field. Becoming embedded in the social structure of a field, in particular the conservatoire, has a disproportionate impact on other opportunities and the capacity of an individual to engage fully and legitimise their participation. Similarly, *cultural capital* is also often internally legitimised within the field (Hilgers and Mangez, 2015), and is often a more determinant resource in the conservatoire than outside. It implies tacit knowledge and cultural literacy, and unfortunately often becomes a signifier of social class or habitus. Cultural capital in any of its forms reciprocally impacts on opportunities to accrue social capital based on how symbolically legitimised and therefore advantageous an individual's cultural capital is by association, and how much it works to reify the field's social and cultural power structures.

Cultural capital, for Bourdieu, comes in three forms: *embodied*, *institutionalised* or *objectified*. *Embodied cultural capital* is evident in characteristics that exhibit a belonging and validity through cultural practices, visible through affectations of speech, or a knowledge of repertoire, for example. *Institutionalised cultural capital* is acquired through legitimised qualifications like higher degrees or instrumental grade exams, and *objectified cultural capital* is transferred through physical cultural artefacts, like the prized record collection of a vinyl aficionado (Wilson, 2014), that acts to distinguish

an individual's cultural preferences from others as an act of social demarcation. In 'Distinction' (1984), Bourdieu proposes that cultural, social and economic resources contribute to decisions being made, tastes being projected and social practices becoming dominant in a field and embodied in the habitus. Those who 'get ahead' often have specific qualities that others authentically and inauthentically imitate or adopt. In 'The Field of Cultural Production' (1993) Bourdieu also finds the actions and behaviours of individuals within the field depend heavily on the circumstances and experiences that subjectively affect the conditions of their work (Bourdieu, 1993, p64) and invariably affect the opportunities available to them. In the conservatoire field, social capital is often limited to musical networks, as the immersive conditions of conservatoire learning often mean that this is where the majority of social interaction takes place (Kingsbury, 1988).

Bourdieu's tools provide the conceptual framework that is applied, though not generalised, to the experiences of non-traditional conservatoire students in this study. Despite Bourdieu's relational approach being *de rigueur* in the formative field of conservatoire research, it is not a new approach in the broader field of educational research, as Bourdieu has interminably influenced the discourse on the education system's socially reproductive tendencies.

2.2.1 Higher Education: Widening access and the meritocratic myth

The introduction outlined that issues of working-class accessibility to higher education have come to increased prominence (CoWA. 2017; Sommerville, 2017), and Bourdieu is central to the theoretical underpinning and ontological approach of this discourse (Reay, David and Ball, 2005; Reay, 1995, 2001, 2004, 2003, 2017; Ball, et al. 2002; Ball, 2003, 2011; Nash, 1999), thanks largely to his rejection of unhelpful meritocratic perspectives that downplay the visible and invisible structures that dictate how people are equipped to negotiate the educational field. The idea that formal education creates a meritocratic society had at one point been commonplace in post-war Scottish education (McCrone, 1992), despite many older (Young, 1958) and

contemporary social theorists (Appiah, 2018; Iannelli and Paterson, 2007, Goldthorpe. 2003) warning that the meritocratic myth only serves to perpetuate existing inequalities (Themelis, 2008). One of the biggest contentions is that the educational system, as it is structured, discourages diversity and difference, and instead encourages conformity to a system that inherently privileges middle and upper-class students (Crawford, 2010). Even though the end of the 20th century saw an increase in the overall number of students attending universities in Scotland (McCrone, 1992), Iannelli and Paterson's (2004) study of Scottish social mobility suggests that this growth could have been attributed to the swollen number of middle-class families and parents who monopolise HE opportunities for their children, rather than a representative growth of working-class students, particularly in Scotland's ancient universities.

> With nearly forty per cent of young people entering higher education, it could be argued that Scotland is closer now than it has ever been to opening its universities to the mass of the people […] Social opportunity, however, remains by no means evenly distributed. The chances of middle-class children remaining in their class of origin are disproportionately high. Middle-class families confer on their children considerable cultural capital, most obviously in terms of educational skills and qualifications, which almost guarantees that they will do at least as well in financial and occupational terms as their parents. (McCrone, 1992, p244)

The meritocratic myth has been perpetuated in Scotland through a deeply rooted Calvinist work ethic (McCrone, 1992) that frames educational attainment as solely dependent on an individual's talent or effort. However, in practice, this myth reinforces socially constructed class-hierarchies and has become widely accepted to be a reductive fallacy (Appiah, 2018; Breen, 2003) that plays dangerously into a neo-liberal discourse that is at odds with HE's democratic and egalitarian purpose (Orphan, 2018), by prioritising individual agency and market needs beyond reasonable limits (Brathwaite, 2017). Fortunately, research like Reay's exists to add credible opposition to those that would suggest otherwise.

2.2.2 Higher Education: Transition and continuation

Reay demonstrates that social and cultural origin impact on the initial transition into university in two ways. Firstly, on initial selection of courses and institutions (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), and secondly on how effectively individuals socially and culturally engage with the institution during and after the transition process (Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009). The initial process of course selection is often limited by the inherited resources required to identify the most appropriate courses or institutions (Reay, 2017), which results in individuals instead electing to go with what was most readily available (Briggs, Clark and Hall, 2012) or acting only on information available in prospectuses or open days (Reay, David and Ball, 2005). This contrasts with the experience of middle-class or upper-class students who are largely *expected* to go to university, and who benefit from previous generations' experiences of HE. This advantage works in the informed selection of degree programmes, in the assured belief that they belong in HE, and in the clear and informed expectations of what undergraduate study entails. Leese (2010) shows that even working-class students who attend a *post-92 university*[7] with a strong widening access agenda, struggle with the expectations of independent learning and autonomy, echoing the findings of Lowe and Cooke (2003). Middle and upper-class students come equipped with this expectation based on hereditary experiences and are able to draw on academic resources in domestic settings. Leese (2010) and Thomas (2002) also uncover a stratified class hierarchy where the majority of working-class students i) spend considerable time generating external income to support their studies, which limits their capacity to engage socially and culturally in university life, and ii) exert greater labour than their middle-class peers in pursuit of the symbolic resources they did not inherit. As a result, participants in their study lack the subsequent cultural and social connection with their new HE environment, or the capacity to improve that situation, which engenders a feeling of social and cultural alienation. Wilcox and Gauld (2005) also find a similar correlation

[7] A modern institution that was granted university status following the Further and Higher Education Act 1992.

between social connectedness and support structures, proposing that more formalised social and cultural transitional support is necessary to help students continue their studies beyond the initial transition from school to HE.

2.2.3 Higher Education: Pedagogy and student continuation

How knowledge is organised and communicated in HE also impacts on university transitions. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) propose that *pedagogic communication*, meaning academic language and the way in which information is transferred in university settings, often compounds social and cultural stratification and stacks the odds in the favour of those with inherited capitals. It is, they say, a tool that educational institutions use to symbolically perpetuate class-based inequalities, by using a codified vocabulary that is native to middle and upper-class learners. Bourdieu sees this particular *pedagogic action* as a form of *symbolic violence* against those for whom academic parlance is not native, enacted by those in power to protect and affirm their dominant status. This is found to be especially important in university arts education.

> The informal efficiency of pedagogic communication is no doubt one of the surest indices of the specific productivity of pedagogic work, especially when, as is the case in Arts Faculties, this work tends to be reduced to the manipulation of words.
> (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p71)

Bourdieu and Passeron find that a mastery of scholarly language, in itself a manifestation of cultural capital, is still an overly determinant factor in student success in the arts and humanities in the university context. Those who come from a class or domestic background where scholarly parlance is used effortlessly and unthinkingly are at a natural advantage (Reay, et al. 2005), which results in an array of unequal starting points. French (2013) proposes that academic language is an ongoing institutional barrier for students from working-class backgrounds, and notes that attempts to remedy this relatively arbitrary barrier have often been met with resistance. In *'Let The Right Ones In!'* (2013) French finds that a narrative of 'dumbing down' academic writing in

university has been weaponised against the widening participation agenda, using a vampire metaphor to describe the protectionist instincts of traditional universities, with cultural capital (the victim's/university's blood) being a finite resource that widening participation students are looking to feed from. French suggests that a 'New Literacies' approach, drawing from Street (1984) and Bernstein (1996), could challenge this by introducing the idea that there should be understanding that literacy is situated and a product of social origin. This includes an appreciation of multiple literacies, especially in light of new technologies, rather than a single, codified, institutionally legitimised way of communicating.

This approach has the potential to limit middle and upper-class advantage within the field by improving pedagogic connectedness and clarity with working-class students if they were able to utilise new technologies and communicative channels. Reinforcing the reproductive tendencies of educational institutions, whether a conservatoire or ancient university, by codifying pedagogic communication in the native language of legitimatised and dominant participants within the field, only perpetuates inherited advantage and keeps others 'out'. There is discussion later in this chapter of how conservatoires specifically distance themselves from traditional academic writing as the main mode of literacy, however, it is demonstrated that there is still an implied cultural literacy that is just as exclusionary. This perspective resonates with Allsup (2016) and Partti's (2014) work specifically in music education, which calls for teachers and lecturers to of course grasp the historicity of tradition, but also to embrace experimentation and consider the specific technological and creative contexts of their student's origin as valid and fertile areas for educational growth and creativity.

2.2.4 Higher Education: Working class perspectives

As previously mentioned, Diane Reay is amongst the most influential scholars on widening access to HE, and is herself from a working-class background, and a self-proclaimed 'fish out of water' (Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009) in

the academic field. Reay's fieldwork is framed with a reflexive and credible lived experience, in which she continuously queries how class identity and sociocultural background unconsciously and consciously affect participation in HE. Subsequently a professor at Cambridge University, Reay has a 'whole career of work on the inequalities manifest in education*'* (Abrahams, 2018, p717), with a prolific output that has already been heavily drawn on in this thesis (Reay, Crozier and Clayton*,* 2009; Reay, David and Ball, 2005).

Reay most recently published 'Miseducation*'* (Reay, 2017) as a summative work in which she collates the findings of her previous research and applies them to the influential study in the field of educational sociology 'Education and the Working Classes' (Jackson and Marsden, 1966). She explores the cultural dissonance that exists between working-class students and HE and identifies the difficulties students face in legitimising their presence in these often self-legitimising, reproductive, hierarchical and culturally arbitrary worlds. Crucially, she also communicates the sense of class betrayal that working-class students experience when attending prestigious universities, as students are motivated to abandon their embodied habitus and signifiers of their working-class identities, and not just through the formal act of pedagogic communication. Using Bourdieu, she explores how these symbolic manifestations of individual background contradict with what she helps define as the *institutional habitus* (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), and results in a form of social or cultural dissonance and alienation.

2.2.5 Higher Education: Habitus and alienation

Bourdieu uses habitus to tackle the false dualism between structure and agency, and Reay takes this further in contemporary HE. Habitus is relational and seen as an embodiment of structures that manifest 'in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body*'* (Bourdieu, 1986, p47), a set of dispositions that inform how individuals negotiate social and cultural situations in real time, largely at the unconscious level (Bourdieu, 1990, p58).

Issues of dissonance with the institutional habitus (Reay, David and Ball, 2005) are rarely the result of explicit institutional oppression or symbolic violence, other than the explicit cases of academic language already discussed (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; French, 2013). A more subtle dissonance occurs because the social constitution of HE institutions allows the field to be more easily navigated by some individuals in comparison to others. As an example, Reay (2017) outlines the relatively arbitrary symbolic worth of institutionalised cultural capital in her place of social origin, where academic study was not 'what was done' and therefore of little practical value.

Reay describes how her own attempts to adopt the arbitrary symbolic characteristics of the HE field engenders a constant disconnection between her academic self and her working-class identity. Not feeling native to the HE field, and not feeling native in her field of social origin, Reay experiences an alienation from *any* social field as a result of her educational advancement. This is confirmed in her research; the more individuals labour to fit in socially and culturally at university, the more they hide elements of their working-class identity and detach from their field of origin. This detachment is perpetuated through the abandonment or limitation of both symbolic and physical manifestations; affectations of speech, dress, or cultural preferences (Bourdieu,1984), and also through social connections and activities. This had also been explored by Bourdieu and Passeron in the French education system.

> At every stage in their school career, individuals of the same social class who survive in the system exhibit less and less the characteristics which have eliminated the other members of their category.
> (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p82)

Reay stresses the importance of recognizing habitus, in an effort to 'understand how structures become embodied and generate ambivalences and tensions' (Reay, 2017, p156) in working class students. Why would one group of individuals be encouraged to abandon deeply rooted elements of their upbringing while others are allowed to continue authentically and un-

thinkingly? This increases the empirical importance of obtaining first-hand accounts from students in this study of the pre-tertiary conservatoire (Stabell, 2018), as this facet of HE transitions had rarely been explored at this stage in the 'Learner Journey' (HEA and NUS, 2013). Only by considering the socially situated perspective of widening access students, and the tensions that inform their fluid and changing habitus during HE transitions, can issues such as voluntary deselection, social alienation, or other seemingly illogical academic choices, be understood. Reay, and Bourdieu, make clear that practical logic itself is completely relative to the individual's habitus and field of social origin.

2.2.6 Higher Education: Culturally arbitrary or practically logical?

Reay puts habitus to work in investigating undergraduate degree selection in students, based on criteria other than the institutionalised capital they possess through academic qualifications (Reay, David and Ball, 2005). In her study, perceptions of oblique academic pathways play a role, related to symbolic violence enacted through pedagogic communication. However, the arbitrary cultural conventions that HE engenders are also found to be a source of tension for individuals who are new to the HE field.

Related to, but not interchangeable with, the 'Hidden Curriculum' (Margolis, 2001), the *cultural arbitrary* is utilised in this thesis to describe aspects of conservatoire learning cultures that require an existing insider status in the field. *Learning cultures* assume people 'learn through their participation in cultural practices' (Perkins, 2013b, p199) as an ongoing process 'that occurs in and through daily life both inside and outside of institutions' (ibid.). The cultural arbitrary is 'a term Bourdieu uses to suggest the differential power relations pertaining to our culture have no necessary basis but are rather arbitrarily constructed to reflect the interests of dominant groups' (Webb, Shirato and Danaher, 2002, pX).

Universities are frequently seen as institutions that reflect the interests of the middle or upper classes, and the perpetuation of arbitrary systems or

hierarchies of cultural expectations and practices exemplifies Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) idea of symbolic violence. This 'hidden curriculum' still creates and perpetuates internal institutional hierarchies (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), based on the effort individuals expend to engage with them, but also a hierarchy of institutions based on their philosophical approach towards HE's societal purpose – for example, from the 'new' university to the elite 'Russell Group' or 'Ivy League' institution. A rejection of the vocational, and a focus on the cultural arbitrary is a site of class demarcation in HE, as illustrated in the intra-institutional hierarchies in Bourdieu's 'Distinction' (1984).

> It is still more clearly seen in the opposition, at the level of the grande écoles[8], between two academic markets differing profoundly in the content of the cultural competence demanded, in the value set on manner and the criteria used to evaluate them. […] These struggles over the legitimate definition of culture and the legitimate way of evaluating it are only one dimension of the endless struggles which divide every dominant class. (Bourdieu, 1984 p86)

This merely skims the broader debate on the purpose of HE, which many in the academic field firmly believe *should* be arbitrary in what it values (Calhoun, 2006), unhindered by market forces or economic returns (Collini, 2012, p195; Orphan, et al, 2018.). However, this often makes little practical sense to a learner with limited reserves of economic, social and institutionalised cultural capital. Reay demonstrates that the majority of working-class students have more vocational aims, ironically fitting in with the neo-liberal discourse (Orphan, 2018) that leaves less room for intellectual detachment and reverie. Costa, Burke and Murphy (2019) investigate the influence of class background on vocational priorities in HE and argue that habitus still determines educational choices, reifying the construct's ontological validity in this discourse. However, this recent publication in the developing discourse proposes that habitus should no longer be based on, or synonymous with, class background, and has become even more fluid than Bourdieu intended, with habitus being better understood as subject to

[8] Prestigious and elite French Higher education institution, outwith mainstream HE.

persistent alteration through 'out of environment' experiences. (Burke, 2015a, 2015b)

> There were classed contrasts in dispositions including appreciating the devaluation of a university degree, confidence in their ability to find a 'graduate level' job and attitudes to a flexible graduate labour market. These contrasts were articulated through and accounted for by habitus. Some of the clearest illustrations of the role of habitus on dispositions did not come from comparing classed groups but when observing the reformulation of an individual respondent's habitus and the subsequent shift both in attitude and practices. (Costa, Burke and Murphy, 2019, p22)

Educational research frequently emphasises the contrast between working-class identity and the middle and upper-class values of HE, but this opposition lacks applicability in this study as it becomes clear, as work progressed, that not all participants had working-class backgrounds. This is due to the limitations of the SIMD outlined in Chapter 1, meaning that Transitions 20/40 did not fully account for the socio-economic class of the participants in its selection criteria. Costa, Burke and Murphy's (2019) idea of *habitus reformulation* through 'out of environment' experiences provides a more fluid way to apply Bourdieu and Reay's conceptualisation of HE to the very specific context of this study, both in terms of class-identification and in terms of the specific disciplines that the participants studied. Perhaps this presents an opportunity to explore what facets of the SIMD impact on the durable habitus and class identity of the student cohort. Or perhaps a focus on the fluidity of habitus in negotiating the field, engagement with 'out of environment' experiences, and the journey towards becoming 'full' participants in an educational and cultural field is a more appropriate approach.

2.2.7 Higher Education: Socially situated learning

The idea of relevant situated participation, where the individual benefits in moving from the periphery to full participation over a period of time, is explored by Lave and Wegner (1991) and is congruent with this new fluid use of habitus. Lave and Wegner find that the most embedded and meaningful learning is social, and occurs during situated experiences in the field: through

this peripheral participation individuals develop a lasting and durable comprehension and eventual mastery of the field by participating rather than merely observing. Music education research in particular has moved towards situating arts education within everyday life (Perkins, 2011), as it is in these everyday contexts where the habitus is learned in the conservatoire, by grasping hidden artworld conventions (Becker, 1982) or in comprehending aspects of the cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

Learning this way allows individuals to move towards a legitimised position within the field, developing a more field-specific sense of practical logic, which resonates with Bourdieu's view of the habitus and Costa, Burke and Murphy's (2019) concept of 'habitus reformulation'. While invoking some of Green's (2008) findings on the informality and socialised learning that is common in popular music education, this seems more applicable to the broader arts education context, which works already to mitigate the traditional academic codification, particularly in the conservatoire where the very nature of its curriculum and practical vocational training deliberately works to distinguish itself from traditional HE. The disconnect is that conservatoire learning practices are often, and perhaps arbitrarily, only able to be decoded with formal prior learning.

2.3.1 Conceptualising the Conservatoire: For the few

As previously highlighted, conservatoires employ a curriculum that is distinct from traditional HE, and occupy their own area of the HE field, with unique priorities, legitimised practices and doxa. Stahl, Burnard and Perkins note that conservatoire learning practices 'serve to construct potentially different learning experiences within a set of core institutional practices' (2017, p17). Duffy (2013) also succinctly outlines the evident internally-legitimised pedagogic position of the conservatoire.

> Conservatoires are specialist institutions with a pedagogy that focuses sharply on the artistic, technical, professional and intellectual

> development of the individual student through intensive teaching in their single discipline.
> (Duffy, 2013, p174)

Historically, the perception of conservatoires (Ford, 2010; Romer, 2018) has been similar to Bourdieu's view of *grande écoles*, as institutions of *cultural conservation* relatively detached from real world concerns and firmly rooted in traditions of the past (Froehlich, 2012). Reay interprets Bourdieu's view of elite educational institutions as 'enclosures separated from the world, quasi monastic spaces where they live a life apart, a retreat, withdrawn from the world and entirely taken up with preparing for the most senior positions*'* (Reay, 2017, p44). Burt and Mills frame conservatories as 'secret gardens' (Burt and Mills, 2006b; Perkins, 2013b; Burwell, Carey and Bennett, 2018), and acknowledge that conservatoires' more inward-looking tendencies may not have a positive effect on their public perception. Sharman comments that 'it's not surprising that conservatoires are often seen as elitist by the communities that surround them' (Sharman, 2008) given the extraordinarily high percentage of privately educated students that make up conservatoire admissions (Romer, 2018). Sharman and Romer provide two of the few externally facing accounts of UK conservatoire culture and, lamentably, Romer suggests that there may be grounds, in evidence, for accusations of conservatoire education becoming the preserve only of the upper classes and privately educated.

Conservatoire research has not been quick to reflect these accusations, instead displaying a tendency for the field to evaluate its practices through its own internally legitimising lens; essentially asking what makes a conservatoire better at doing the job of being a conservatoire as it is currently conceived and constructed (Odam, G. and Bannan, 2005). This approach has a tendency to reinforce some of the more arbitrary and internally legitimised aspects of conservatoire culture, rather than challenge them. Odam and Bannan's initial 'Reflective Conservatoire' (2005) includes studies of musical excellence, performance strategies, teaching practices and advanced specialist aspects

of conservatoire pedagogy (Gaunt, et al., 2012; Carey, 2013). However, there is an increasingly audible opinion that the pursuit of technical excellence above all else perpetuates class-based exclusion to conservatoire cultures and has little social and cultural benefit outwith the conservatoire field.

> Technical virtuosity alone within a 'cult of precision' (Rusbridger, 2013, p163) is seen for what it is – meaningless and musically irresponsible. Artists have to have something to say and one way of feeding this is by engaging with the wider world. (Renshaw, 2013, p49)

This *cult of precision* is enacted in the micro-structures and doxa of the conservatoire field through devotion to teachers in on one-to-one tuition and the requirement for significant amounts of solitary practice (Carey, et al. 2013, Gaunt, 2009). Renshaw and Rusbridger's '*cult of precision'* (2013) has obvious parallels with Bourdieu's *'cult of technique'* (Bourdieu, 1993) in visual art, which also outlines an inward looking, obsessive and exclusionary institutional culture, with an expectation of considerable individual investment of time and labour devoted to achieving technical excellence.

> The cult of technique treated as an end in itself is inscribed in the scholastic exercise seen as the solution to a scholastic problem or to an arbitrarily imposed subject which, deriving entirely from a scholastic mode of thought, only exists as a problem to be solved, often at the price of an enormous amount of work.
> (Bourdieu, 1993, p244)

The argument against conservatoire education being arbitrarily scholastic (in a musical sense) is that the technical mastery is of benefit to audiences and the general public because of the artistic output it creates. However, Kemp (1997) posits that the internalisation and detachment required by the cult (either of precision or technique) has a demonstrably negative effect on musical communication. He observes that 'conservatoire students frequently have to be reminded that their job is to communicate to a listening audience' (Kemp, 1997, p28) and this realisation is emblematic of more progressive views of what the conservatoire's main purpose should be (Gaunt, 2016; Wright, 2010). Conservatoires, as implied by their name, are often assumed to be conservative institutions (Tregear, et al., 2016), with self-perpetuating

and internally legitimised values which often appear to be culturally arbitrary in the broader society they are located. However, the arbitrary values by which excellence and potential are frequently judged in music HE, can also lead to misrecognition and misuse of power (Pace, 2015; Tregear 2014), and are being increasingly challenged in relation to not only social class, but gender (Dylan-Smith, 2015) and race (Hess, 2017), and with recognition of the importance of external engagement (Renshaw, 2013) that prioritises collaborative practice and a more fluid sense of excellence and creativity (Allsup, 2016, Burnard, 2012).

One perspective is that conservatoires have a role in developing the listening audience, looking outward with an 'outreach' agenda that widens access by increasing opportunities to engage with orchestras, western art music, and traditional music theory and notation, echoing the approach of the original RSAMD outreach plan mentioned in the introduction (Jones, 1997). Tregear, et al. (2016) support this to an extent, proposing that 'we require a more critically informed performing and listening public' (Tregear, et al., 2016, p285) and suggest that the ways in which music, and the arts in general, are now widely experienced are not conducive with appreciation of the nuances that conservatoire musicians hope to be taken from their work. The perceived solution is that the public, therefore, should be equipped to critically engage with artistic works of increased complexity, and Tregear poses that the conservatoire is best positioned to share its resources and expertise outwards towards achieving this.

Critical aesthetic engagement in listening practices is notably explored by Bourdieu (1984) and found to be relatively predictable based on class background. However, perhaps this perspective can now be seen to be reductive, especially when considering Wilson's (2014) observation of a gradual shift from cultural snobbery to cultural *omnivorousness* (Peterson and Kern, 1996) as a way of enacting distinction. However, central to Tregear's approach towards increasing the conservatoire's influence on broader

society's cultural preferences, is the enabling of more people, through equitable access, with the tools to decode art music by understanding what Allsup (2016) refers to as musical 'grammar'. However, this assumes a 'correctness' in 'high' and 'low' art, and skirts slightly uncomfortably with an emancipatory narrative and agenda, subtly reinforcing the dominance of what is generally a patriarchal and white western-art tradition. Care must be taken to avoid patronising musical and artistic appreciation outwith this narrow conceptualisation. There should also be a recognition that beyond the aesthetic comprehension, engagement with both the kind of cultural consumption and the cultural practices that the conservatoire looks to share is often the result of the more symbolic signification of what appreciation of that particular music or art means, right down to the conventions of its public presentation and the conditions of its performance (Wiseman-Trouse, 2008).

While well intentioned, and indicative of the conservatoire sector's progression in considering its social positioning, it is vital that this agenda does not impose a pejorative view of cultural activity that takes place outwith the conservatoire. Tregear et al. (2016) is cognizant of the potentially damaging affect this would have for the conservatoire's image in the rhetorical discourse, and adds that the elitist perception of conservatoires is often the result of artistic objectives that are 'principally for the benefit of that individual, if not the kinds of social elites who seem especially to enjoy such music.' (Tregear, et al*.,* 2016, p3), echoing Wiseman-Trouse on framing and perceptions. Tregear, et al. sees potential for conservatoires to relocate themselves in the public psyche, to be framed as valuable and accessible social and cultural spaces, engaged in difficult and relevant social activity, rather than silos for the conservation of what has historically been perceived as *elite* performance practice and training.

This new perspective is indicative of Gaunt's (2016) aforementioned paradigm shift in conservatoire discourse, characterised by a growing sense of sectoral concern about the conservatoire's role in society. The practices of

conservatoires *should* be evaluated for their social and cultural purpose as much as their artistic and technical ones. In the Scottish context, Duffy portrays the RCS as a particular institution already taking this transition, by looking to 'open up the traditionally narrow conservatoire curriculum' (Duffy, 2013 p169). Duffy outlines a curriculum reform that incorporates student and staff voices into curriculum design, assigns formal credit to choice modules to encourage students to explore areas outwith their single discipline, and looks to provide more realistic guidance to students on what it means to be a practising artist in the field. Interestingly, Duffy believes that the administrative and logistical side of the curriculum reform is far more straightforward than the cultural reform that requires an 'enthusiastic and energetic buy-in' (ibid, p179) from teaching staff and students alike, providing evidence of Costa, Burke and Murphy's (2019) type of habitus reformulation being enacted on an institutional scale. It is this cultural reform that this thesis is most concerned with, because without an institutional 'buy-in', initiatives like Transitions 20/40 are much harder, and beyond Scotland, there is sector-wide evidence of growing energy and enthusiasm towards scrutiny of learning cultures (Perkins, 2011, 2013a, 2013b), including the more arbitrarily exclusionary practices and their determinant effect on the potential student population.

As conservatoires began to take an increasingly critical view of their social and cultural purpose (Renshaw, 2013), *'The Reflective Conservatoire'* (Odam and Bannan, 2005) has since spawned an ongoing biannual conference, and sociological research on conservatoire learning cultures became critically constructive and socially situated in broader HE and society (Burwell, Carey and Bennet, 2018; Carey, et al. 2017; Burnard, Hofvander Trulsson and Söderman, 2015; Perkins, 2013; Wright. 2010; Lebler, Burt-Perkins and Carey, 2009). To delve further into the specific properties and social organisation of the conservatoire field in relation to the broader cultural field in which they sit, the following section synthesizes Bourdieu's conceptual tools outlined at the start of this chapter, into the historical depiction of conservatoire learning environments, to define the internal institutional logic of

conservatoires, and map their power relations, internal doxa and institutional habitus.

2.3.2 Conceptualising the Conservatoire: Situated learning

Academic literature portrays arts education as a contradictory field, especially between disciplines and types of institutions, with clear tensions between pedagogical priorities in university arts departments and conservatoires. Perkins (2013a, 2013b) discusses the conservatoire's focus on 'doing music' with strong distinctions between 'academic' practice and 'performance' practice. This clear prioritisation of training and vocation, tangible and practical, may potentially counter the fears of working-class students entering HE with ambiguous career paths (Lowe and Cook, 2003, Leese 2010). However, this is little more than an institutional nuance that is not part of the public discourse on conservatoires, and certainly not enough to meaningfully alter the public perception of what conservatoires are. There is also little empirical evidence to support the idea that conservatoires disrupt the social hierarchy evident in the broader HE sector, as had been claimed by institutional insiders (RCS, 2014). The conservatoire has historically worked towards a student embodiment of Bourdieu's idea of 'pure art' (Söderman, Burnard and Hofvander Trulsson, 2015), which is socially disconnected and has nothing to say beyond the art itself. University music is often academically focussed around the analysis of social and historical contexts, or completely extra-curricular (Pitts, 2013) to enrich the overall experience of students (Jensen, 2017). The conservatoire therefore inhabits a unique position in the HE field where practical, vocational training in performance and teaching is the explicit pedagogical objective (Duffy, 2013; Ford, 2010).

This presents different issues of codification to traditional HE for widening access students, firstly in course selection (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), and secondly in appreciation of the very specific prior learning required of conservatoire applicants (Carey and Lebler, 2008). Understanding this difference is essential to understanding how the habitus of the student relates

to the habitus of the institutions, and this thesis's conceptualisation of institutional rules and priorities is helped by a step back into the history of conservatoire analysis. Prior to the majority of social and cultural studies of contemporary conservatoire practices already discussed, Kingsbury (1988) and Nettl (1995) still offer the most comprehensive accounts of institutionally situated learning cultures and practices, that help to conceptualise aspects of the 'hidden curriculum' which appear as a cultural arbitrary that aids or hinders individuals' accumulated capitals or (re-) formulated habitus.

Kingsbury (1988) looks at a conservatoire cultural system in the 1980s and Nettl (1995) examines several mid-western university music departments in the 1990s. Despite their age, the depth of these studies not only helps to apply Bourdieu to this thesis, but also highlights some surprisingly enduring practices still evident in subsequent studies (including this one) of conservatoires. Practices such as the informality of administrative communication (Kingsbury, 1988, p35) and the focus on on-to-one tuition (ibid, p36) are still central pillars of conservatoire education over 30 years later (Carey, et al., 2013; Gaunt, et al, 2012). Reading Kingsbury's work with the benefit of Reay's more contemporary analysis of traditional HE institutions, even suggests that aspects of conservatoire education may actually contrast with Bourdieu's ineffective and exclusionary pedagogic communication and class-based stratification in traditional HE. Did the Conservatoire already employ a 'new literacies' approach (French, 2013) or employ its own brand of *contextualised admissions* (RCS, 2014) by focussing more on technical mastery than scholarly proficiency or abstract thought? This current study shows a diversity of prior learning experiences, and challenges the notion that the 'cult of technique' (Bourdieu, 1993, p244) is necessarily always a bad thing: if delivered in good faith, as a personalised learning preference towards one-to-one tuition and individual specialism (Carey, et al, 2013; Carey and Grant, 2015) it can work for many individuals. To advance this discourse in the conservatoire field, it is helpful to clarify how these

aspects of conservatoire learning environments relate to Reay and Bourdieu's studies of class and widening participation in HE.

2.3.3 Conceptualising the Conservatoire: Personalised pedagogy.

Kingsbury rationalises embedded conservatoire practices in a practical way, outlining four guiding principles of conservatoire social organisation that are paraphrased here to connect with the experiences across different art forms in this study.

Guiding Principles of Conservatoire Social Organisation (Kingsbury, 1988)	
1	Great value is ascribed to the artistic quality of conservatoire teachers.
2	The teachers become nodal points with followers, creating cliques within the institution
3	This cultural system of individual teachers having followers replicates the oral tradition.
4	All first three points engendered an inefficient administrative system.

Fig. 2. Kingsbury's four guiding principles of conservatoire social organisation.

As is still the convention, the students in Kingsbury's study are selected for conservatoire study through audition, rather than through academic selection. Kingsbury observes a student population that demonstrates a high degree of confidence, agency and ambition, in keeping with the institution's explicit prioritisation of graduates who pursue careers as virtuoso performers (Kingsbury, 1988, p56). This perhaps informs institutional selection of conservatoire students who are already suited and prepared for 'high stakes' (Kingsbury, 1988) or 'front-rack' (Perkins, 2013b, p205) performance careers. Student dissension to a 'lame duck' conductor of the conservatoire orchestra indicates a sense of entitlement and power, (ibid., p54) and points towards the predetermined selection of an autonomous and legitimised student population that do not feel like 'fish out of water' in the way Reay's participants did. In a

widening access context, it should be asked if participants who are not native to this field or do not have this habitus are likely to outwardly project this disposition at an audition. Based on Reay's work, this seems doubtful.

Any application of Kingsbury's findings to contemporary widening access work should also incorporate prior discussion of employment opportunities and sustainability of artistic careers. Kingsbury's conservatoire students exhibit a confidence and agency despite the observation that 'the economic realities that confront the graduate of a music conservatory in the 1980s are surely lost on nobody.' (ibid., p56). The ability to embark on a career that is 'flexible and uncertain' (Burt and Mills, 2006, p65) is undoubtedly still a privileged position, and not just within music. Lebler, Burt-Perkins and Carey (2009) subsequently find fears of financial insecurity in music HE, and Carneiro (2013) also speaks of the challenges theatre practitioners face in entering the field of work, in large part shaped by the convention of taking up unpaid internships. Roncaglia (2008) also speaks of the challenges dancers face in the comparative brevity of their expected careers and the resultant early retirement age. Despite this, there is still a demonstrable lack of sympathy towards real-world economic concerns evident in the contemporary practices of conservatoires (Burland and Pitts, 2007), which implicitly require students to appear unburdened by the demands of part-time employment, a proven area of class demarcation in contemporary HE.

Kingsbury implies that a level of economic subsidy is commonplace among conservatoire students, relieving concern of vocational uncertainty. One participant states that 'if the conservatory only admitted students who could make a career in music, we'd have to close our doors tomorrow' (Kingsbury, 1988, p56). It should therefore be asked why the practices in conservatoire cultural systems have evolved to produce graduates who are equipped to produce 'absolute music' through rigorous technical training, despite the fact that other musical professions would most likely await them (ibid.)? Lebler et al. (2009) identify a contemporary trend for students to broaden options during

their undergraduate study and generate several 'fallback positions' (ibid., p243*)*. However, this is never explicitly discussed in Kingsbury's conservatoire: as at it runs counter to the dominant institutional habitus that prioritises musical objectives over all else.

2.3.4 Conceptualising the Conservatoire: Aesthetic hierarchies

Like Kingsbury, Nettl (1995) also draws on his own experiences at a number of mid-western North American music departments and brings them together under the combined pseudonym of Heartland U. Nettl depicts Heartland U as an institution characterised by the normalisation of western classical music as the 'real' or 'normal' music, a cultural system that consecrates a canon of 'art-music' and the precision with which it is 'interpreted'. However, Nettl also proposes that Heartland U has the potential to be a meeting place for all music, if it is willing to incorporate them into its institutional identity. Predating Renshaw's (2013) call for more diverse music to be incorporated into the conservatoire, Nettl charts the introduction of Madras music to Heartland U. He outlines a resultant taxonomy of sorts, describing concentric circles with the canon at the centre and other *musics* occupying more peripheral positions in terms of audiences, venues and general perceived worth within the field. The heterogony that this new literacy brings is viewed by some within Heartland U as a potential compromise of the '*purity'* of the canonical musical world previously outlined.

> The "impure", the stylistically and culturally mixed, has its place, but what is in some sense "pure" is often privileged. Thus, concerts remain within their taxonomic boundaries; you don't find a string quartet performing before the intermission and a sitarist after […] attention is focused on the static, not on the changing. Along quite another line, students are not strongly encouraged by their primary teachers to perform or hear music outside their major field of interest.
> (Nettl, 1995, p106-107)

Although Nettl does not conceptualise it this way, it is clear that the dominant institutional habitus restricts the cultural system's capacity to incorporate those from outwith the consecrated sanctum, because they seem to

compromise the legitimacy of its consecration. Similarities are seen in Transition 20/40's incorporation of other artistic disciplines and students from less traditionally-inculcated backgrounds, or less codified and legitimised prior learning cultures, operating in more peripheral concentric circles within the conservatoire. It is here, in the negotiation of where the taxonomic boundaries lie, that the power relations of the conservatoire field are most visible.

2.3.5 Conceptualising the Conservatoire: The music building as a field

Nettl frames all of the interactions of individuals and musics within the physical and social space of the '*music building'* which illustrates Bourdieu's concept of the field in a literal sense. Co-opting a tangible and centralised physical space as a symbolic and theoretical arena for social and musical interaction helps to illustrate the specific power relations and hierarchies that govern the lived realities of participants in this study. It helps to show that even within small specialist institutions, hierarchies exist and are structurally perpetuated. Fields have restrictive doxa that outline the conventions within them, much like Kingsbury's four guiding principles of the conservatory cultural system (Fig.3). Comprehension of, and compliance with, the doxa is the first step in a path towards first an acceptance and then a dominant position within the field. The possession of tradable assets, i.e. the capital that has worth in the field, determines where the individual positions themselves in relation to the field of power: Nettl's participants benefit from understanding the western art cannon, as this is seen as the valued resource that has tradeable worth in negotiating the field of power in the 'music building'. This in turn affects the durable dispositions and embodied structures, both facets of the habitus, in the student population which perpetuates their positive trajectory, encouraging individuals to labour towards acquiring more of these capitals. Recognition of the necessity for this symbolic acquisition feeds into the durable and transposable institutional habitus that prioritises the symbolic over the economic in Heartland U's field. Nettl's analysis of the *'society of musicians'* within the 'music building' stratifies the student populations and examines the social relationships between them. Echoing Kingsbury, Nettl

also speaks of '*nodes*' (p45) within the social structure of the university music department, illustrating that agents' identities are fluid and belong to multiple social groups within the social organisation.

> Teachers see themselves as eternal students and scholars, and, more than in other university departments, the younger ones have perhaps actually been pupils of the older ones. The students move gradually from the exclusiveness of study to partial teaching. [...] In music more than in other academic fields, academics become full time university teachers while still completing their degrees. (Nettl, 1995, p45)

This emphasises the self-legitimising and reproductive tendencies of the institutional field, where the preservation of values and practices is entrusted to students of students of students and so on, attaching a symbolic capital to the lineage of teaching. This preserves the cultural arbitrary, maintains the socially constructed doxa, and legitimises the fluid identity of students who then become teachers, but remain students, providing a basis for conceptualising an amorphous individual conservatoire habitus that generally never has a sense of arrival or completion. This emerges as a theme in the fieldwork for this study, but often makes little practical sense to those who might seek economic and vocational stability in return for educational labour (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), but within the conservatoire field, to insiders, it seems perfectly rational.

2.4.1 Widening Access: Performing arts education

This discussion has moved from objective discussion of structural class reproduction, into the more subjective symbolic doxa of the conservatoire field, and its effect on habitus reformulation (Costa, Burke and Murphy, 2019) informed by socially situated participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in conservatoire education. This is because participants in this study have a more heterogenous class identity than other prior studies, affirming this thesis's relativist ontological approach. This will be discussed in methodological terms in the next chapter, but the implications of working with relatively small numbers of differently experienced non-traditional students are raised here first. Personalised approaches to conservatoire education are not

new, and one-to-one teaching (Carey and Grant, 2015), meaningful apprenticeships and mentoring are dominant features of conservatoire learning cultures (Perkins, 2013a, 2013b). Recent discourse on performing arts education indicates how prevalent the practice of situated participation is: learning with and beside practising professionals. Only through *doing* do peripheral participants first comprehend the cultural practices that are initially found to be arbitrary, allowing them to move towards legitimisation by adopting these aspects of habitus. However, there is unequal access to mentors and communities of practice that facilitate conservatoire-specific learning prior to entering the field, meaning that not everybody has the opportunity to access even the periphery.

Sociological studies of musical learning cultures (Burt and Mills, 2006; Lebler, Burt-Perkins and Carey 2009; Perkins, 2013; Burnard, Hofvander Trulsson and Söderman, 2015) have developed in sophistication by mapping arts HE as only part of a lifelong situated learning practice (Lave and Wegner, 1991, Perkins, 2011, Burnard, 2015) which, increasingly, is approached through biographical study as a way of understanding artistic trajectories. Smilde (2009) explores the idea of individuals' constantly evolving but durable dispositions, incorporating structures through practice, and learning these conventions through a protracted period of enculturation and participant observation. This type of biographical case study research has a historicity which accounts for habitus, and helps to highlight points of tension in arts training and transition into the profession. Burland (2005) maps the trajectories of professional musicians through education into the profession in a longitudinal study, and Roncaglia (2008) focusses on dancers' transition out of HE. Franklin (2019) takes an autoethnographic approach to examining the transition back into theatre production education following a period of working in the profession, and Burland and Pitts (2013) subsequently investigate the problematic transition into HE, again highlighting the problems that a lack of prior situated experience creates.

Echoing Lowe and Cook (2003) and Leese's (2010) findings in broader HE, Burland and Pitts find that increases in workload and self-direction are unexpected for music students without particular prior experiences, which complicates their transition to HE. Autonomy and reflective practice are also found by Carey and Grant (2015) to be implicit expectations of music HE by students and teachers alike; these qualities are implicit because they are doxa in the musical field (Lebler et al. 2009). Again, this would appear arbitrary and ambiguous to those with a more functionalist vocational habitus (Reay, David and Ball 2005), or who have only participated beyond the periphery (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Those with situated experiences of the conservatoire know that the learner is generally expected to spend long periods in solitary practice (Carey et al 2013; Gaunt, 2009) and then to reflect on this practice (and practise) using their learned instincts, based on the 'master-apprentice' or situated pedagogic model (ibid.).

However, it is clear that as music's place in society evolves, so do the expectations of the professional field, which requires heightened capabilities of reflection and adaptability in conservatoire students and graduates (Smilde, 2009). While there is a chance that this might only magnify the issues working-class students face in traditional HE transitions (Lowe and Cooke 2003, Leese, 2010), this newly required adaptability and reflection may also provide opportunities to embed multiple or 'new literacies' into the existing conservatoire curriculum.

Formally embedding learner reflection in undergraduate programmes has been recently suggested as one solution to engender autonomous learning in first year music students, to help strengthen the transition primarily into HE (Carey, Harrison and Dwyer, 2017) but also into and throughout increasingly amorphous and flexible careers that await students after graduation (Burnard, 2015). True reflection requires practitioners to act as their own editorial and curatorial gatekeepers. This has repercussions on both university music departments and conservatoire learning cultures, and the necessity for

reflective practice has become one of the conservatoire sector's institutional priorities (Odam and Bannan, 2005). Importantly, this reflection is now enacted at an institutional level (Duffy, 2013), though often focusses on looking outwards towards sources of potential students (Lebler, et al., 2009), rather than looking inwards at institutional cultures and practices.

2.4.2 Widening Access: The role of pre-entry

This study's contribution to the conservatoire research narrative should challenge notions of 'where students come from', given the evidence that formal routes into conservatoire education are now increasingly under threat, or financially exclusionary (Broad, et al. 2019). The lack of pre-entry routes into HE have already influenced the HE ecology: universities in Scotland have been cutting music provision in the past decade (The Times, 2011), and Pitts (2013) reports similar trends in neighbouring England, noting the 'closure of academic music departments at Exeter, Reading and Roehampton in recent years' (ibid., p201). Pitts cites cuts in school provision as a determinant in both the number and diversity of students who are equipped to study focussed degrees, but also outlines how this affects the uptake in extra-curricular musical activities that facilitate more effective school-university transitions and helps with public perceptions of music HE and widening participation in the arts (Jensen, 2017). Taylor (2013) also explores the extra-curricular role of the arts in traditional HE, with institutions particularly valuing its role in 'public engagement, access and knowledge exchange' (Taylor, 2013 p117).

Fewer students, especially those from less affluent backgrounds, are having meaningful, situated, prior experiences in pre-tertiary education. Fewer students have experience of formalised pedagogic communication, and fewer students have the privilege of understanding the culturally arbitrary priorities and value judgements of conservatoire education. The class divide enacted through the marginalisation of school instrumental lessons is evident in Lebler's findings that classical music undergraduate students are 'statistically

more likely to have had more than 50 private lessons' (Lebler, et al., 2009, p241). HE institutions are aware that their vitality depends on the preparedness of commencing students, and it is feared that this preparedness has become the preserve of only those who can afford private tuition. As pre-entry programmes and free tuition in schools become rarer and less accessible, this seems to affect the socio-economic demographic of students who continue participation beyond school. Green (1988) foretold of this trend, observing instrumental tuition in particular becoming an exclusively middle-class activity over 30 years ago (Green, 1988). Scotland's own battle against local authority cuts to instrumental music tuition services in schools was outlined in the introduction to this thesis, and particularly well documented during the fieldwork period (Swanson, 2019).

> University music departments look nervously towards potential changes in student intake – the likely consequence of an increase in fees and the reduction of time for music in the school curriculum (Pitts, 2013, p201)

Based on the Scottish context and Pitts and Green's work, it appears that widening access and participation to HE in the arts is being structurally limited by the lack of access to meaningful arts education pre-HE. However, Renshaw (2013) provocatively suggests that the responsibility actually lies with conservatoires, echoing Tregear, et al (2016). As institutions of public service, they must link more effectively with the increasing number of pre-entry programmes that produce young practitioners with a more 'eclectic artistic palette and broad cultural outlook' (Renshaw, 2013, p49). This requires conservatoires to broaden *their* artistic palette and cultural outlook, as many of contemporary pre-entry initiatives go beyond the current curricular and pedagogical limits of HE or conservatoire courses (Lebler, et al. 2009). This is especially true in Scotland, particularly in the widening access context, as many YMI-funded 'Access to Music Making' programmes offer preparatory experiences that develop a 'feel for the game' that lies outwith the presently legitimised conservatoire field (Creative Scotland, 2019). A case is being made to incorporate new literacies and recognise more vernacular modes of

cultural production in the conservatoire and beyond (Allsup, 2016; Isbell, 2016), and importantly Renshaw questions whether students from diverse cultural backgrounds in today's pre-entry programmes are 'likely to feel comfortable within the current conservatoire culture' (Renshaw, 2013, p49).

Lebler, et al (2009) propose that performing arts HE needs to embrace students with broader ranges of 'presage' learning experiences if it they are to meaningfully improve participation (Lebler, et al., 2009), and thus change the culture of the institution itself. Lebler's study compares the values of students on a popular music course with those on a conservatoire-based BMus programme, and reveals a heterogonous set of student expectations that are often met with a homogenous set of institutional practices in performing arts HE. Lebler finds that students come in with a diverse range of experiences in music education, learning and practising in multiple ways, only to find that in many cases conservatoires learning cultures only work to get musicians to do things in a very specific way. Reay, David and Ball (2005) speak of the institutional habitus dictating the homogenous practices that become legitimised, but Lebler argues that this limited set of practices has become increasingly insufficient in preparing students for professional life. In the current context, in the changing profession, it should be asked if these homogenous practices are actually an arbitrary part of the institutional habitus of the conservatoire and maintained unthinkingly, or purely because they legitimise those who are in the position of power, rather than working to connect with society and the broader cultural field.

2.4.3 Widening Access: Working in the field

The heterogenous range of conservatoire students' presage learning experiences (Lebler, et al, 2009) are often more congruent with the professional field than the undergraduate conservatoire curriculum. Diverse pre-tertiary training programmes create a range of artistic palettes and communities of practice in the UK (Renshaw, 2013) that extend beyond the previously narrow territory of formal pre-tertiary music education. Many initiatives help younger learners to use digital audio workstations (DAWs),

write songs, record performances, distribute their music through digital aggregators, write and direct short films, or operate live sound and lighting. These are things that conservatoire students frequently learn after graduation, but that do not connect with undergraduate admissions. While formal pre-entry programmes, like 'junior conservatoires' connect effectively with undergraduate conservatoires (Stabell, 2018) and have close ties to the professional field, they rarely connect with informal and non-formal (Green, 1998, 2008) practices that run prior to and in parallel with them beyond the institution's walls. The disproportionately large percentage of privately educated music makers discussed in the introduction (UK Music, 2018) indicates that while participatory arts reach far and wide, reflecting the ideal professional field in many ways, the majority of diverse *presage* learning experiences do not connect with a key part in the transitional journey: conservatoire undergraduate and HE programmes that give learners the institutionalised cultural capital and social capital to help them transition to the professional field. Private education and one-to-one tuition does, and this is an unhelpful projection of who art, and the conservatoire, is for.

2.4.4 Widening Access: Perceptions of the conservatoire

The projection of who can access the conservatoire is central to the widening access agenda, but external perceptions of the conservatoire have rarely been critically engaged with (Duffy, 2013) and those that exist often provide a less than complimentary account (Sharman, 2008; Romer, 2018). With a few exceptions that take an outsider's perspective of conservatoire education (Lebler, et al. 2009; Dylan-Smith, 2015; Perkins, 2011), the majority of prior research has been conducted by participant insiders in music, drama or dance education, and the research tends to subscribe to its own discipline's notions of utility, ability, success and worth, perpetuating a meritocratic myth (Davies, 2006) that celebrates nebulous constructs like '*talent*' (Kingsbury, 1988) as objective and un-contextualised truths. The reflexive position of the academic discourse on conservatoires needs to be recognised, by acknowledging that the institutional habitus affects the values and priorities

embedded in conservatoire research, as the researchers are participants in the very field they are discussing (Reay, David and Ball, 2005). While insider knowledge of these complex institutions is widely seen to be advantageous, it is an area of concern that will be addressed in the next chapter.

2.4.5 Widening Access: Prioritising social objectives over artistic ones

> It is significant that one of the first "findings" of my conservatory research was that no term is used more consistently as a concept of evaluation than the word *music* itself.
> (Kingsbury, 1988, p144)

While music education research is conducted by practitioners in the field they study, the emergent field of dance research displays similar trends. Insider perspectives are common in education research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011), however, within the broad church of music education there are multiple vocational and artistic pathways, all with very different modes of learning, but few of the institutions or organisations engaged in delivering more diverse learning experiences have the privilege of research-active staff members, or the budget for such reflective activity. There is a feeling that the overall discourse on music education, like the conservatoire itself, still prioritises traditional modalities of western art music as worthy of analysis, with a few notable exceptions (Lebler, Burt-Perkins and Carey, 2009; Wright, 2010: Burnard, Hofvander Trulsson and Söderman, 2015; Dylan-Smith et al. 2017; Harrison, 2017), and the overall discourse on conservatoire research, still prioritises music above other artistic disciplines. The scarcity of studies on drama, production, or screen education can be related to the conservatoire field's durable power relations (Reay, David and Ball, 2005), or perhaps Nettl's concentric circles (1995). A minority of UK conservatoires are truly interdisciplinary, and the conservatoire field has been as slow to incorporate other disciplines into its research discourse as it has been in incorporating them into their curricula (Duffy, 2013; Tregear, 2016). As current narratives increasingly question the broader societal purpose of conservatoires,

research that offers an external view of the field that perceives arbitrary power relations and hierarchies is timely.

As this study works across disciplines, it is impossible to apply any form of analysis that judges Transitions 20/40 in aesthetic or artistic terms, and this is, in itself, liberating. Baker (2014), Renshaw (2002, 2013) and Treagar (2014, 2016) have all been critical of the promotion of musical aims at the expense of social ones in teaching practice, but few have levelled the same criticism at the field of conservatoire *research*. The historic purpose of the conservatoire has been to train performers for 'front rack' positions. (Perkins, 2013b, p205), and this is the world that the majority of conservatoire researchers work in, in a world where academic research itself still labours for legitimacy. However, as research departments and interests in conservatoires grow, contemporary literature calls for broader pedagogical breadth and greater cultural awareness (Ford, 2010; Renshaw, 2013; Tregear, et al. 2016), and research narratives can contribute to this reformulation of the institutional habitus.

2.4.6 Widening Access Summary and Research Questions

The conservatoire field is one where both education and cultural production meet, and while Bourdieu depicts both educational and cultural fields as having traits that favour those that come from academically experienced and culturally literate backgrounds, Bourdieu only ever directly addresses issues inherent in the literary field (Bourdieu, 1993) or the visual arts field (Bourdieu, 1996). The majority of the research discussed here shows that conservatoire research is still largely a sub-field of music education where musical values dominate the narrative, and the continuing discourse would benefit from more interdisciplinary perspectives (de Bruin, Burnard and Davis, 2018) that are less concerned with art-form specific or institutionally legitimised performance criteria (Carey et al., 2013, Gaunt, 2008. 2016). The sociological perspective, and Bourdieu's tools in particular help to formulate research questions to help meet the research aims outlined in the previous chapter. Therefore, the next chapter looks at operationalising the following research questions:

- How does widening access and participation in the existing structures of the pre-tertiary conservatoire meaningfully and legitimately widen access and participation to the tertiary institution and the broader cultural field?
- How can more diverse and fluid prior experiences connect with the institutional priorities of the tertiary conservatoire?
- How do discipline specific cultures or practices work to amplify or diminish arbitrary distinctions between widening participation students and the existing conservatoire, and what can be learned and transposed between disciplines?

The utilisation of a social constructivist, relativist framework, takes research of conservatoires into uncharted interdisciplinary territory when viewing transitions between and through different artistic and educational fields or concentric circles. It seems that the application of Bourdieu's theories to conservatoire studies and the deliberate move away from treating music-the-art as both subject and evaluative criteria, is timely and appropriate. Looking at a socially situated conservatoire through the eyes of non-traditional participants illuminates difficult questions about its position and purpose in society.

3. Methodology

3.1.1 Balancing pathos and practicality

Bourdieu demands a clarity and utility in his sociology (Bourdieu, 1999) and frequently operationalised his research to challenge structural oppression. He was at the forefront of many social movements and industrial actions in his native France (Desan, 2013b; Johnson, 2002), stressing that theory should be underpinned by empirical investigation, and reinforced by practical action (Sociology is a Martial Art, 2001). There are two major considerations in meeting these demands and taking Bourdieu into the conservatoire fieldwork for this study.

The first consideration, as Foster (1986) highlights, lies in Bourdieu's 'adventurous and demanding' (p109) interpretations of the pathos, turbulence and ardour found in participant experiences, which paradoxically diminish the potential audience equipped to decode his work. Bourdieu's 'interpretive virtuosity' (ibid.) was fuelled by the need for institutional legitimisation, of a 'serious science of society, power, and inequality' (ibid.). To affirm its legitimacy within the field, Bourdieu's work is the product of his academic habitus, or *homo academicus* (Bourdieu, 1988) as much as the product of an activist, manifesting in a dense and labyrinthine writing style. Ironically, Bourdieu's essential, potent, criticisms of the education system tend to exhibit the very same verbosity and academic codification that he saw as symbolic violence in the educational field. Reay (2017) argues that this evolution is inevitable, given the process of habitus reformulation that occurs in HE, proposing that there is no such thing as a working-class academic. Bourdieu undoubtedly became a product of the very environment he came to inhabit, but perhaps to affect change as Bourdieu hoped, there is a necessity to take a position of power within the existing academic field, and challenge the status quo in the field's own legitimised language.

The second consideration is that, ultimately, Bourdieu challenges institutions that are commonly celebrated and consecrated in society, both in terms of their location in the fields of power, and in the embedded practices and habitus they perpetuate.

> Even the most reflexive educational professional and the most broad-minded educational policy-maker are likely to find Bourdieusian research difficult to 'do' and difficult to 'hear', regardless of how ultimately practical or useful it might actually be.
> (James, 2015, p110)

The epistemological challenge in this study is therefore to *'do'* difficult research in a way that participants and stakeholders, including Conservatoire management, will '*hear'.* The difficulty in 'doing' this is embedded in the distorting effect of the researcher's own values and biases (Greenbank, 2003), and in the difficulty of 'hearing' a critique of the reproductive and symbolically-violent effects of an educational practice that practitioners view only in positive terms (James, 2015). This chapter addresses these two major considerations in answering the research questions, by looking at two texts where the paradoxical nuance and practical utility are successfully reconciled, primarily by centring the voice of the participant within the interpretive discussion.

3.1.2 The Weight of the World

Bourdieu's epistemological influence on this study is most clearly drawn from the 'The Weight of the World' (Bourdieu, et al., 1999). This collaborative work, which is among Bourdieu's most transparent and elementary projects, was conducted towards the end of his career. Various authors explore themes of academic exclusion, neighbourhood gentrification, the loss of traditional working-class vocations and homelessness. Large portions of transcribed interview data obtained from participant interviews are shared with directness and clarity that also delivers Bourdieu's nuanced conceptualisation of social positioning and individual experience of institutions. The range of experiences explored in the book vividly illustrate how oppression is enacted in the post-

industrial world, through social shifts, structural forces and an overarching and recurring theme of feeling like a '*fish out of water'* in periods of transition. What makes 'The Weight of The World' easier to 'hear' than Bourdieu's other work, is the treatment of large portions of raw interview data that are presented by using the participants' specific social context as an interpretive lens, rather than through statistical models or grand theory. A more grounded and relatable sense of the participants' realities is gained as a result of this more direct, and perhaps respectful, holistic representation of the participants' words. This present research is easier to *'do'* with a commitment to hearing and framing the participants on their terms, in their own contexts.

The Weight of the World is not without an interpretive lens, but the rich, descriptive accompaniments to the interviews in each chapter are largely reflexive of the researcher's position and help the reader interpret the realities of the participants more vividly. This principle lays the foundations for this study's phenomenological approach, and supplants previous ideas of content analysis alone, by recognising that non-verbal or textual data can be just as rich. Bourdieu's descriptive passages provide detail on particular behaviours - for example, a certain look that was given when discussing a topic, particular tones of voice, the surroundings of the interview, or even the attire of the participants. It is in these sections that the location of the participants is set firmly within the field and circumstances in which their oppression takes place- adding an ethnographic dimension to the phenomenological reflections of the participants themselves. These interpretations amplify the human characteristics and signifiers of habitus in tandem with the structural circumstances of the interviews, and allow the reader to relate their experiences and prejudices to the participants' experiences and prejudices. This, of course, presents difficulties in drawing generalisable conclusions, an accepted concession of experiential research methods (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011), but as the circumstances surrounding the research of Transitions 20/40 are socially and culturally situated to such a specific

context, it is clear that the findings of this project are unlikely to have widely generalisable findings in any case.

There are contextual parallels to be drawn between 'The Weight of The World' and this conservatoire programme. For example, Bourdieu spoke of 'Jonquil Street' in a French town, a place once heavily planned and regulated that was now largely deserted and without identity:

> 'Since the 14 story highrise was torn down in early 1990s, today there remains only a row of small townhouses, with "options to buy", occupied by families of skilled workers, shift managers, or foremen in the metallurgical industry. Often of foreign origin, from Algeria in particular, almost half of these workers are unemployed or have taken early retirement subsequent to the different "restructurings" of the steel industry.' (Bourdieu, 1999, p6)

Bourdieu highlights the different language used by the power structures versus the colloquialisms of the employees. In doing this he draws attention to the differences in the words participants use depending on their context and that this in itself highlights the differences in their contexts. *'Restructurings'* is used as a politically softened term, to counteract the use of *'layoffs'* that have been used pejoratively by the participant, a nuance of local colloquia that is included in the accompanying analysis by Bourdieu. His reflection that 'their reason for existence has disappeared along with their factories.' (ibid.) frames one participant's views on the technocrat's urban development policies and the historic and lived context of his views on the immigrant population within a field within which his habitus no longer allows him the legitimacy it once did. In highlighting these signifiers and providing this context, Bourdieu affords the participants' respect and allows their views to be shown in the context from which they are given, despite being problematic when viewed in isolation. To discount participant views because they conflict with the habitus of the researcher mutes and discredits the broader experiential reality under investigation and becomes an act of symbolic violence.

3.1.3 Transposing methodology between cultural fields

The idea that Bourdieu provides transposable templates of fields was introduced in the previous chapter (Bourdieu, 1993, 1986). These transposable templates of fields only give this study of a conservatoire widening access programme its ontological framework, rather than contributing definitive structural templates to be uncritically re-applied in this very different context. However, the structural conditions of Jonquil Street are comparable to the conditions that the SIMD identifies in the Scottish context: Scotland has, for example, also experienced a protracted decrease in local authority housing as a result of growing private ownership and has seen the decline of traditional industries (McCrone, 2017, p203-208, Clark and Gibbs, 2020). However, a more geographically relevant precedent is also drawn on in constructing the epistemological approach to this fieldwork.

3.1.4 Tell Them From Me

> I think you should try more to help us… instead of just talking alot of rubbish all the time to us. Saying you's will help but you's don't. And I think you'd have got a cheek asking me to fill this in after all you's should have came and told us what to do for the best instead of asking kids lots of things to help other people
> School Leaver.
> (Gow and McPherson, 1980, p111)

In 1977 and 1979 two waves of surveys were issued to school leavers by the Centre for Educational Sociology at the University of Edinburgh. The largely unfiltered reflections of the students, who had been out of education for a year by the time the surveys were conducted, were compiled by Lesley Gow and Andrew McPherson and published in 'Tell Them From Me' (1980). The participants in the research were selected because of their lack of qualification upon leaving school, and the relatively unmediated style of data presentation was radical at the time. MacBeath believes that Gow and McPherson brought the realities of the Scottish Education system 'home more vividly than performance data' (MacBeath, 2007, p58). This methodological choice is not merely one of quantitative versus qualitative data collection: it is an epistemological decision to move away from positivism, and an ethical

decision to give a relatively unfiltered voice to an otherwise largely under-represented population in educational research. Although Gow and Macpherson do not make the relationship explicit, there is a sense of connection with Bourdieu's approach to constructing the experiences of marginalised populations. Burnhill et al (2012) believe 'Tell Them From Me' acts as a *'corrective'* (2012, p210) to more optimistic studies that completely ignore *'non-academic'* students in the historically accepted practices of educational research. Even though the book was published almost 40 years ago it is striking that the editorial reflections and the agency given to the participants through the stark presentation of their responses is not as archaic as the tales of corporal punishment that are included within their content. In contrast, the unrelenting style is still radical and vital, and strongly informs how the data in the present thesis is collected, analysed and presented.

Gow and McPherson anticipated the minimalist interpretive style of 'The Weight of The World' and applied a participant-centred, constructivist approach specifically to the Scottish educational setting. Their study shed more light on *who* and *why* the Scottish educational system worked for than positivist studies that only reported *what* the education system did. By giving participants a voice, this work served to mitigate both the de-humanizing effect of so much academic research and the largely ignored population of students who do not continue in education.

3.1.5 Social constructivism in the conservatoire

Since 'Tell Them From Me', increasing amounts of agency have been given to participants in conservatoire research, many of which have been already discussed in the previous chapter (Kingsbury, 1988, Nettl, 1995, Lebler, Burt Perkins and Carey, 2009; Burnard, 2015; Perkins, 2013a, 2013b). This is consistent with phenomenological enquiry, which priorities the experiential perspectives of participants, and adopts biographical approaches to data organisation and analysis. Burnard (2015) constructs three composers' *'narrative lifeworlds'* within which their identities and conceptions of self are

explored in relation to their creative activities over the course of their careers. Burnard recognises the importance of qualitative contextualisation and experiential complexity and believes that more experiential methodologies are required to comprehend 'the complexity, discontinuity and changing nature of their work and identity' (Burnard, 2015, p202.). Burnard suggests that a more sophisticated use of cultural capital could be developed by acknowledging the individual's identity and career development, or transition, as one that is 'situated, and occur, in one's environment and one's lived experiences' (ibid., p206). Burnard draws on Burt-Perkins (2009) to highlight the situating effect of the conservatoire as an institution loaded with hierarchies and power relations, and the effect this has on the value that is ascribed to certain types of cultural capital, reinforcing its symbolic order. Therefore, participant experiences and trajectories cannot by completely understood without acknowledging the transformative interplay between the 'self' and the 'social' (Burnard, 2015, p203).

An experiential clarity, and a sense of participant authority is a hallmark of Perkins's work (2013a; 2013b), in part because of the increased frequency of participant/researcher dialogue included within discussions. While still eschewing the protracted sections of uninterrupted transcription of Gow and McPherson or Bourdieu, the participants are undoubtedly the centre of discussion. Meaning and significance are drawn primarily from the data itself with the reader being afforded access to the source materials, the methods of data collection, and the methodology that governs it. Again, context is provided, and Perkins makes the conditions of data collection explicit, discussing, for example, her use of photo diaries (2013a) as a means of data collection to further humanize the participants and give them an increased stake and authorship in the research process. Perkins also includes parental vocations and prior engagement with the arts (such as instruments played) as significant conditions within which to frame participant responses.

In this study, the emergent heterogeneity of the research sample means that no assumption is made regarding parental vocations or prior engagement in terms of the habitus or capitals these engender, but rather that these are taken as individualised conditions of the participants' realities that frame the interview responses in the context of the SIMD and Scottish education.

By way of comparison, Gavin (2012) explores attrition in undergraduate music programmes using student case studies, but is sparing in the integration of student responses in the discussion. On the one hand, this allows generalizability through comparison between specific student cases, but, on the other, it allows less insight into each individual case. This is illustrative of the methodological and stylistic balancing act evident in these precursors and remains an ongoing epistemological concern. There is a balance to be found between overpowering the participants' voices with interpretation and codification, and still giving enough description to facilitate a situated and informed understanding of their experiences and realities.

3.1.6 Methodological influence and implications for this study

These methodological precedents explore complex realities framed within specific social and cultural contexts. The challenge inherent in this interpretivist phenomenological study is to choose which contextual elements, what parts of the participants' identities, to amplify without ascribing excessive judgement or by highlighting some facets of participants' habitus while ignoring others. The interpretivist epistemology retains an ongoing concern with maintaining impartiality whilst distilling and organising the considerable amounts of data into precise enough themes to enact practical action. This is expanded on later, but for now is broadly reconciled by letting the participants' own values and priorities dictate what is beneficial or desirable in terms of their continued participation with the Conservatoire.

> Reflection about these students' stories and experiences also may lead to discussions of the idea that not all attrition is negative and not all persistence is positive
> (Gavin, 2012, p320)

Gavin proposes that a student's continuation in conservatoire education is not automatically a positive outcome, nor should leaving the conservatoire be seen as a negative one. If a participant withdraws from the conservatoire, it does not necessarily act to their detriment. Similarly, student withdrawal does not automatically mean that the institution has failed them. Gavin's work allows us to consider that the conservatoire is the wrong place for some participants to thrive in the manner in which their habitus predisposes them. To properly elucidate this, the student population sampled in this thesis are engaged and invested in the research throughout the longitudinal data collection period, even if they were not invested in the conservatoire *per se*. Peterson and Allsup state that many practitioners and participants 'don't feel like they're involved in the research process and they just receive what others on high find out and then give to them' (Peterson and Allsup, 2010, p108), echoing Gow and MacPherson (1980). This returns to questions of how to *'do'* this research in a way that the participants are truly '*heard.'*

The aim is to give the participants agency from the first stage of recruitment through to the fieldwork, analysis and writing-up of the findings. It is emphasised, to them, that this thesis is going to be about *them* telling *their* stories about *their* experiences as arts practitioners studying or training in a pre-tertiary conservatoire. This explicit commitment to co-authorship is partly a vehicle by which the mutual enthusiasm for the research project is established, but also an important way of communicating that their viewpoint is not only valued, but the central conceptual tenet of the thesis. An agreement has been reached with each participant that promises mutual honesty, ensuring both parties feel as though they have a stake in the research, assuring participants that they have the determinant role in what this thesis is actually going to say. In practice, this has been solidified through annual revisitation of prior interviews and clarification of previous points.

Through this longitudinal process, it has been possible to affirm that the inflexions, implications and themes that I, the researcher, have highlighted in the course of analysis are also conducive with the messages the participants intend to put across. Only through this, has it been possible to avoid *'just talking alot of rubbish all the time to us'* in the way that Gow and McPherson's school leavers articulated.

3.2.1 Methods

An emic approach is adopted for the data collection of this thesis, defined by Given (2012) as prioritising the insider's perspective of their reality (p249) over broad, objective generalisability. This approach refined the initial research proposal, which also included annual waves of surveys. It became clear how unrealistic it was to conduct *both* primary qualitative and quantitative research within time constraints, and surveys were further deprioritised after access was given to quantitative data the institution gathers on demographics and student progression as part of routine administration. While these data provide valuable context, relying purely on them would have been conducive to an etic, positivist epistemological stance, incongruous with this project's aims (Flick, 2015, p27). Therefore, a qualitative phenomenological approach was employed for the primary data collection, augmented by ethnographic perspectives as a participant observer, and reporting in keeping with the interpretivist epistemological perspective (Flick, 2015, p27).

A subjective framing, utilising ethnographic elements of my broader participation within Transitions 20/40, is utilised to situate the interviews in the context they are given, but still with care to centre the participants. Coffey (2018) notes that ethnographic interviewing can be used not only to gather accounts of experiences, but that the style and circumstances of the interview can also give insight into the '*performance of social action.*' (Coffey, 2018, p54) which, as following chapters demonstrate, evolves over time in the

longitudinal study. The detail of participant responses, and the framing of the interviews, has generated richer and more substantial data than initially anticipated. As a result, 'headline' or 'bullet point' results are harder to define, but the lack of generalisable findings is seen as a reasonable concession, despite conflicting with original stakeholder hopes for this project. This had the potential to become a point of tension, but with open dialogue and knowledge exchange maintained throughout the fieldwork, the merits of an inductive and interpretive approach were clear.

3.2.2 Population and sampling

The population from which participants are sampled is clearly defined as students who received funding to participate on Transitions 20/40 on the basis of meeting two criteria:

a) Residence in an SIMD 20 or 40 datazone
b) Successful application, most commonly by audition in line with existing Junior Conservatoire admission processes.

The RCS provided the contact details of students who met these criteria, and initial purposive sampling was conducted (Flick, 2015, p104). However, numbering in the hundreds over the four years of fieldwork, this sample was too large for in-depth qualitative research (Cresswell, 2014, p158). The decision was made to recruit a smaller number of randomly selected participants within the Transitions 20/40 cohort. It was felt, based on Bourdieu and Gow and MacPherson's work, that continuing with a purposive selection of outliers ('successful' or otherwise) within the Transitions 20/40 population would only serve to highlight known ways the conservatoire works for or against individuals, whereas new perspectives were sought in this research. It was also unclear, at the point of sampling, what implications SIMD 20/40 residence held, so any assumptions of what might be 'typical' or 'exceptional' would have been arbitrarily based on my own preconceptions of the research population's background. As it was still important to proportionately represent

each artistic discipline within the smaller sample, given that it is one of this study's unique contributions to the growing conservatoire discourse, a second wave of selection was conducted using Random Stratified Sampling (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p154).

3.2.3 Sample stratification

Transitions 20/40's student population was stratified by artistic discipline before the process of random selection took place, to ensure that each art form is represented in proportion with the Transitions 20/40 cohort. Other stratification criteria such as age, gender identity or ethnicity were not considered at this point, as it was thought that the sample should simply reflect how these characteristics were represented within each discipline. For example, if only one ballet student out of twelve on Transitions 20/40 was male and only two students were being sampled, it would not be representative of how the cohort was actually constructed to have a male participant. Similarly, some disciplines had very distinct age characteristics that were important to record, rather than control through sampling across age ranges. This in itself tells a story, and within this relatively procedural proportional sampling exercise, there is perhaps a missed opportunity to explore the intersectional power relations of race, gender or disability within a widening access context.

Fig. 3. Illustrates where the balance between significance of numbers and proportional representation was satisfactorily found when the research was designed.

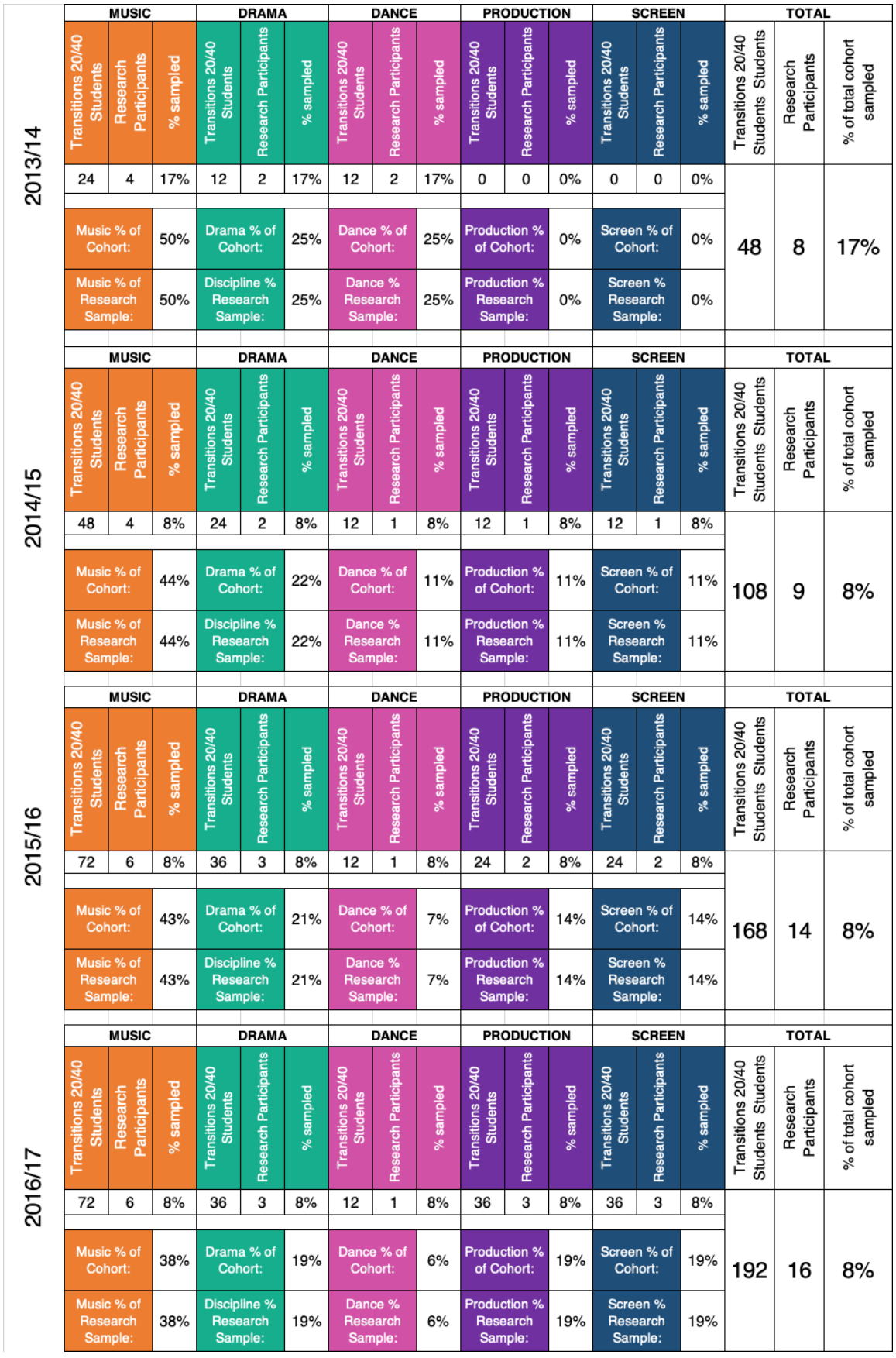

Fig. 3. Fieldwork sampling strata

The sample numbers were drawn from the 2013 funding agreement with the SFC. As the number of funded places for each year on Transitions 20/40 grew, the research sample grew proportionally. *Fig. 4* illustrates how the selected participants move through the longitudinal fieldwork, growing in number each year, culminating in a sample of 47 student participants in the final year.

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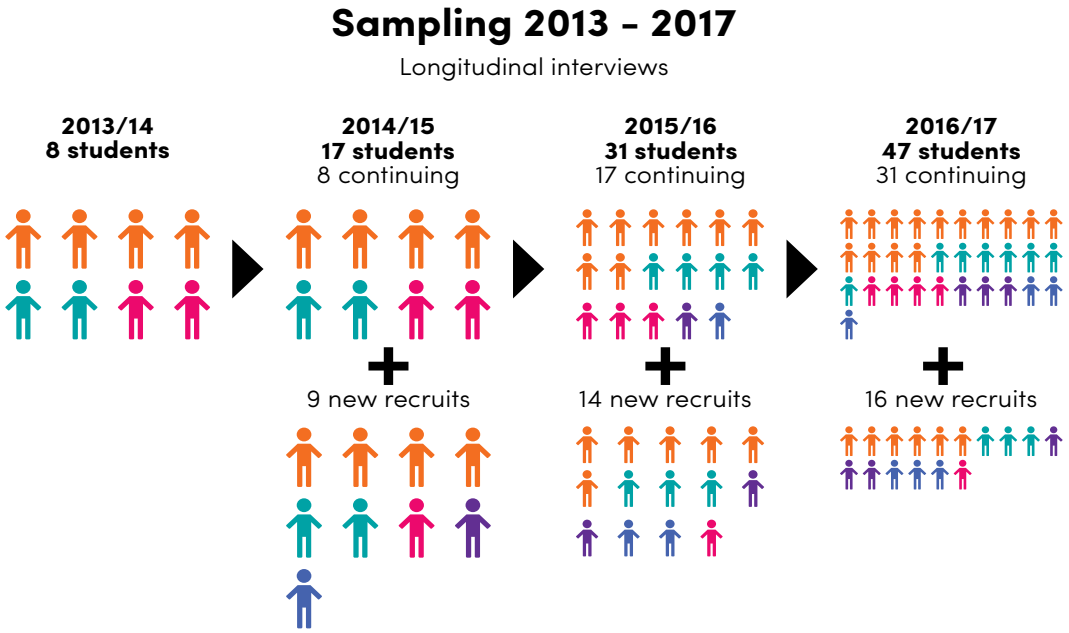

Fig. 4. Participant recruitment and flow through fieldwork.

This design allows comparison of different lengths of participation, differences between smaller and larger cohorts, contrasts between ages and stages, and analysis of student experience on a programme that underwent its own habitus reformulation.

3.2.4 Participant selection process

Sampling within the different strata was conducted on a probability basis by selecting candidates on the ordering of a random number assigned to each eligible student. The potential participants were approached in order of the numerical value of their random number until the predetermined number of participants had been recruited.

276 total students came through Transitions 20/40 over the fieldwork period, meaning that the sample of 47 students is roughly 13% of the total cohort. The demographics of the cohort at large are well represented within the sample in terms of geographic spread and SIMD status. Participants came from 19 distinct local authorities, resulting in a spread of rurality and geographic distance that was proportionate to the broader cohort.[9] Most participants came from densely populated urban datazones in the central belt, particularly from Glasgow City Council, while certain other local authorities were harder to recruit from because of both their physical distance from the RCS and because of their relatively low share of SIMD datazones[10]. There was an almost even split of SIMD 20 and 40 participants in the randomly selected sample, which is again consistent with the characteristics of the broader cohort.[11]

3.2.5 Variables and adjustments

This selection process presumed that the cohort was far more homogenous and predictable than what was found in reality. Transitions 20/40 adapted their recruitment targets during the fieldwork period, as the reality and unpredictability of student recruitment, student attrition and the necessity of a flexible approach towards supporting students resulted in part-funded places and a much looser concept of *transitioning in* and *transitioning out* of the initiative. Other adjustments were made before, during and after interviews based on the experienced reality of the fieldwork: firstly, it became clear that participant expectations of research participation had been shaped by the sense of research as a prescriptive 'top-down' paradigm, seeking particular information and pursuing particular outcomes. This expectation initially filtered what the participants chose to share, clearly restricting themselves to what they thought may be of interest to the researcher and the institution, rather

[9] See Appendix 4 for Geographic Spread
[10] Local shares outline the percentage of SIMD 20/40 datazones within a local authority. See appendix 10.
[11] See appendix 7 for SIMD share of cohort and sample.

than what was of interest to *them*. The second consideration was the researcher's own relationship with the research participants, which evolved throughout the fieldwork period, and inevitably influenced what and how participants shared. This was initially limited by eliminating participants who had an existing relationship with the researcher from the study,[12] and subsequently by ensuring anonymity and emphasising that their responses would not be attributable to them or have any impact on their studies. A third consideration relates to the researcher as research instrument (Gillham, 2005) that ultimately determines how data are recorded and interpreted. As much as the emphasis is placed on naturalistic representation, the shaping hand of the researcher is still unavoidable as the iterative analysis guides the direction of the research, particularly towards the end of fieldwork. Bourdieu often called upon the researcher to recognise themselves as instruments of data collection in their own right and account for their biases and conditions of their own habitus. For the present study, this related back to James' (2015) point that this kind of research will be difficult to 'hear' and 'do'. My own relationship with the initiative – including the developing relationships with staff managing and delivering it – became more complex through the period of the fieldwork, and had to be accounted for throughout the data collection and analysis.

3.2.6 Reflexivity

Bourdieu's position on reflexivity was outlined in the previous chapter (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), but in keeping with his sociological utility and the emic epistemological approach, it is important not just to theorise this in abstract terms, but to embed this reflexivity into the data collection. Having learned music though a mixture of informal, non-formal and formal music settings (Green, 1988), and having never studied at a conservatoire, I initially provided an external viewpoint. However, rooted to Costa, Burke and

[12] When the random stratified selection process identified a participant that I had previously taught, or knew through other professional or artistic practice, they were passed over for the next randomly selected participant.

Murphy's (2019) idea of habitus reformulation, there is no question that this perspective changed over the course of the research, as I became an insider, through years of participation and employment in the Conservatoire.

I was initially recruited as a PhD researcher to evaluate Transitions 20/40, a role which afforded participation in team meetings and operational planning, and my initial findings would regularly feed back into the initiative in an iterative process. While this satisfied Bourdieu's call for sociological research to be reinforced by practical action, and added an extra ethnographic dimension to this study, there were reflexive concerns on how this impacted on data collection, analysis and reporting. In particular, data from this work was used to fulfil annual reporting requirements for the SFC as part of the monitoring and evaluation process of Transitions 20/40, and also contributed to reports to the Conservatoire's internal Quality and Standards Committee. I also constructed student case studies for marketing and recruitment purposes that were researched and written using Transitions 20/40 students not involved in this doctoral research[13] and engaged in outreach activities to secondary schools, colleges, conferences, national competitions and trade fairs on the Conservatoire's behalf throughout the fieldwork period. As is highlighted in the introduction to this thesis, I also taught on and designed summer schools in the RCS, and facilitated interdisciplinary and collaborative Transitions 20/40 workshops for the student cohort. Working so closely with the delivery of the initiative meant easy access to participants and following cohort activities was less problematic than if a more detached position had been adopted. It also increased the authority and validity of this research, by being able to report with confidence the situated realities and experiences of the participants. However, this also made the research increasingly difficult to 'hear' as I became increasingly inculcated into the institution I was studying, developing a vested interest in the initiative being positively appraised. Again, this reflexive position was continually challenged throughout the analysis and

[13] See Appendix 12 for public facing case studies.

write up, by acknowledging these biases in real terms when conducting interviews, analysing transcripts and writing the final thesis.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Ethics

Ethical approval for Transitions 20/40 student interviews was granted in January 2014 by the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and St Andrews University in accordance with their ethical guidelines. I, the researcher, was an existing member of the Protection of Vulnerable Groups (PVG) Scheme and received specific scheme updates for the RCS to conduct this research.

3.3.2 Informed consent

Student contact details were obtained securely from the Transitions 20/40 programme administrator before random sampling took place. Following the invitation to participate, positive respondents were sent an interview cover letter and consent form.[14] The letter had an attached Participant Information Sheet, presented as 'FAQs', clearly stating that they will be participating in an interview, what would happen during the interview, what would happen with the interview recordings and transcripts, and how the data collected will be used. In giving informed consent, it was stressed that participation in the study was voluntary and had no effect on their studies at the RCS as part of Transitions 20/40, and care was taken to employ plain language to inform the participants meaningfully about their involvement in the research.

Some of the ballet participants were as young as 12 years old, so verbal explanations were also necessary: in these instances, the consent form was read aloud to the participant. Transitions 20/40 students ranged from 11 years to 32 years old, so while some participants were directly contacted and able to give consent, other participants under the age of 16 were contacted through

[14] See Appendix 1 for Research Tools and Ethics.

their parent, guardian or carer, who were also required to give consent on the participant's behalf. The parents, guardians or carers were notified of the time and location of all interviews if the participant was under-16 and offered the opportunity to be present during the interview. This offer was only taken up once and proved to be problematic as the parent often spoke for the participant, demonstrating perceptions of the top-down research paradigm of which Peterson and Allsup (2010) spoke. In general, parents, guardians and carers were sympathetic to the integrity of the research and were accommodating and gracious, often prompting participants to respond to emails and attend interviews while remaining largely invisible during the actual data collection. As fieldwork progressed, parental consent was often given to contact participants directly as they either turned 16 years old or became more familiar with the annual waves of interviews that were taking place.

3.3.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity were necessary for student participants in this research to prevent any actual or perceived detrimental effects to their wellbeing or continued studies at the Conservatoire, and to uphold the ethical standards that the research set. This was challenging given the relatively small student cohort, but it was vital that participants responded in good faith that they were not to be explicitly identified or their names linked to their words. For this reason, all participants in this paper are assigned a pseudonym or alias. In reporting the contextual information of the participants, and given the relatively small population being sampled, there is a heightened consideration of identifiable characteristics included in the paper. Participants were frequently reminded of their right to withdraw at any point and other risk issues associated with this research were minimal and controlled. Once participants had given consent for their words to be used, they were assigned a designated non-identifying participant ID number (IDNO) which was essential for accurately collating longitudinal data without risking breaching confidentiality. Identifying participant data (e.g. name, address, DOB) were stored separately (password protected electronic files) from non-identifying

data (e.g. audio recordings and transcripts) and IDNOs were used in naming files. A master key document holding participant names and IDNOs only was stored separately in an electronic file, password protected and never printed. Each IDNO was constructed using their year of recruitment, their artform and the participant number within their artistic discipline stratification. For example, the 2nd production student selected in AY 2016/17 would be known as 1617P02. Following this, the alias was chosen for each participant to make their narratives more relatable and coherent. These names were chosen, where possible, in collaboration with the participant themselves.

3.3.4 Procedures

Initial emails were sent to the selected participants (or their parent, guardian or carer) and follow up emails were sent two weeks later if a response had not been received. Response rates were generally high, but a non-response after two e-mails was seen as a voluntary de-selection from the research and the next assigned random number would be approached until the required numbers of each strata were recruited.

Fig 5. shows the levels of non-response or negative response towards the invitation to participate in the research. There were a large number of non-responses from music participants in Year 2 and in screen participants in Year 3. There were, however, no detectible trends in the age or other characteristic of who declined to participate in the research. Notably, in year 3, one participant was eliminated after random selection because I taught them, which was seen as a conflict of interest

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17
Music	1	4	2[15]	2
Drama	1	2	1	*
Dance	*	*	1	*
Production		2	*	1
Screen	*	*	1	3

Fig. 5. Invited participants who declined to participate

3.3.5 Interview setting

The interviews were largely conducted at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in Glasgow. Interviews were arranged around existing Transitions 20/40 commitments, however some exceptions occurred when participants did not live in the central belt or requested a different location for the interviews.

3.3.6 Year 1 (2013/14)

In year one, 8 participant interviews were conducted between the 26th February and the 27th May 2014. 6 of the 8 interviews were held in the RCS, either at the Renfrew Street building, or the (then) Speirs Lock Studios. Two exceptions were made for a student from a remote rural location who conducted their interview over Skype, and for a young participant who was too anxious to meet in person, but agreed to complete a written version of the interview, based on the interview schedule that was used in the other interviews.

3.3.7 Year 2 (2014/15)

There were 9 new recruits in year two of the fieldwork and the initial interviews were conducted at the RCS between the 28th October 2014 and the 24th May 2015. An exception was made for a participant who wished to meet after their

[15] Includes participant who was eliminated due to existing student/teacher relationship with the researcher.

scheduled class on a Sunday after the Renfrew Street Building had closed. On this occasion the interview was conducted in the café adjacent to the RCS. Of the 8 continuing participants from year one, two declined the invitation to be interviewed in year two. Both of these participants' status on the programme was ambiguous. However, the participant who had not met in person in Year 1 agreed to meet in person in a coffee shop located close to their home, on the condition that their parent was present. The other 5 returning participants met once again at the RCS.

3.3.8 Year 3 (2015/16)

Year 3 saw 13 new participants to the research being interviewed between the 15th October 2015 and the 30th June 2016. 12 of 13 were interviewed in the RCS, with the final participant being interviewed in their hometown, tying in with an existing academic engagement. 11 of the 17 continuing students met for interview this year. 8 were conducted in the RCS, 1 over telephone, 1 in a coffee shop close to the participant's home and 1 at the rUK conservatoire where the participant was now studying. 5 of the 6 students who did not participate in this wave of interviews had an ambiguous Transitions 20/40 status at this point.

3.3.9 Year 4 (2016/17)

The final year of fieldwork saw 16 new participants recruited to the study, and all of their interviews were conducted in the RCS between the 27th of November 2016 and the 31st of August 2017. 27 of the 31 continuing students were interviewed this year, as a result of a more concerted effort to reach those that had become more detached from the Conservatoire over the course of the study. This drive proved vital to the balance of the data collected, and in some cases connected with participants who had not engaged with the RCS for up to two years. Of these interviews 22 were conducted in the RCS, 1 was conducted over telephone, 3 were conducted in participant's hometowns in Scotland and 1 in the rUK city where the participant was studying.

3.3.10 Structure of the initial interviews

The initial interviews were semi-structured using a summary topic guide[16]. This topic guide included an extensive but not exhaustive list of prompts to stimulate a naturalistic and conversational dialogue between the interviewer and the participant. The topic guide, along with a list of FAQs and consent forms were all sent to the participants and their parents or carers (where applicable) in advance. The informality of the interviews was designed to limit the Hawthorne Effect (Payne and Payne, 2004): in practice, interviewees would often start with obviously pre-prepared answers with little hesitation, which were presumably shaped by the interview guidance that had been forwarded in advance. However, as interviews continued there would often be an increase in unintentional verbal idiosyncrasies (the use of 'like' or participants paraphrasing themselves). These fractured and unfinished conversational tangents, and the interviewee's increased candour often led to the richest and most insightful data. It was also latterly recognised that the Hawthorne Effect would have been limited by not sending the topic guide in advance of the interviews, but the decision was taken to be as transparent with participants as was possible. Interview times ranged from around 35-200 minutes in length, and breaks were taken if required.

3.3.11 Annual follow-up

The structure of the follow-up interviews in the second, third or fourth years of fieldwork was inductive, and dictated by analysis of previous interview transcripts. Conducting analysis of previous transcripts before follow-up interviews proved to be valuable, as case specific points and emergent themes were revisited without having to be re-introduced, or completely forgotten from interview to interview. Participants did not have advance sight of questions in follow up interviews, which when combined with the increased familiarity with the interviewer, reduced the time the participant spent in the

[16] See Appendix 1 for Research Tools and Ethics

guarded or overly formal mode, with interviews in the final year becoming particularly notable in their candour.

3.3.12 Recording of interviews

The audio of the interviews was recorded and labelled using only the participant ID number and the number of interview with the participants. For example, the fourth interview with the first music participant selected in AY 2013/14 is labelled 1314M01(4). The audio recordings were stored in one location on the researcher's secure laptop and promptly transcribed, before being relocated to secure hard drive for the duration of the study and for a reasonable amount of time following its completion.

3.3.13 Transcription process

All interview transcriptions are verbatim, including pauses, inflections and occasions where the participant had clearly mis-spoken. In keeping with *Tell Them From Me* and *Weight of The World* it is felt that all of these details are important. The time-consuming nature of this process is offset by the detail and nuance it provides, the closer relationship with the data that it facilitates, and the *ad-hoc* analysis that takes place during this process. All transcripts were word processed and timecoded according to the conventions of NVivo, to allow the possibility of quicker analysis and coding, although as the fieldwork progressed analysis was conducted directly with the word-processed interview transcripts and the individual audio recording. Figure 6 shows the running checklist that was kept of audio recordings and the ongoing transcription process. In total 91 interviews were conducted and transcribed, with no audio for the aforementioned participant who initially completed a written exercise.

		Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4	
		Audio	Transcript	Audio	Transcript	Audio	Transcript	Audio	Transcript
2013/14	1314B01	x	x	x	x			x	x
	1314B02	No audio	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1314D01	x	x					x	x
	1314D02	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1314M02	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1314M02	x	x						
	1314M03	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1314M04	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2014/15	1415B01			x	x	x	x	x	x
	1415D01			x	x	x	x		
	1415D02			x	x			x	x
	1415M01			x	x	x	x	x	x
	1415M02			x	x			x	x
	1415M03			x	x				
	1415M04			x	x	x	x	x	x
	1415P01			x	x	x	x	x	x
	1415S01			x	x	x	x	x	x
2015/16	1516B01					x	x	x	x
	1516D01					x	x	x	x
	1516D02					x	x	x	x
	1516D03					x	x		
	1516M01					x	x	x	x
	1516M02					x	x	x	x
	1516M03					x	x	x	x
	1516M04					x	x	x	x
	1516M05					x	x	x	x
	1516M06					x	x	x	x
	1516P01					x	x	x	x
	1516P02					x	x	x	x
	1516S01					x	x	x	x
	1516S02					x	x	x	x
2016/17	1617B01							x	x
	1617D01							x	x
	1617D02							x	x
	1617D03							x	x
	1617M01							x	x
	1617M02							x	x
	1617M03							x	x
	1617M04							x	x
	1617M05							x	x
	1617M06							x	x
	1617P01							x	x
	1617P02							x	x
	1617P03							x	x
	1617S01							x	x
	1617S02							x	x
	1617S03							x	x

Fig. 6. Checklist of interview recordings and transcriptions.

3.4 Analysis Process

3.4.1 Working with transcripts and recordings.

Coffey's (2018, p82) belief that analysis in ethnographic research should not be a distinct phase following fieldwork is evident in this project, as the longitudinal design allowed for annual follow up interviews to build on and validate the analysis of previous interviews. The reflexive relationship with the operation and planning of Transitions 20/40 also necessitated this iterative approach, due to the frequent ad-hoc analysis required for annual reporting purposes. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) stressed that analysis should begin earlier in longitudinal research, enabling 'progressive focussing' (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Parlett and Hamilton, 1976) from the widescreen picture of the full research sample, to the salient features among groups and varied case specific details. No singular approach to data analysis sufficiently captured the intersectional nature of the participant experiences at the Conservatoire, and therefore several analysis approaches contributed to the resultant presentation of the data. Interview transcripts, field notes, and recordings were listened to, read and re-read at various different stages of analysis, extracting recurring points from participant experiences based on their relevance to the research aims. However, it was ultimately the biographical and narrative approaches to analysis that most effectively elucidated meaning from the participant experiences.

3.4.2 Individual participant analysis

Firstly, transcriptions were analysed at the *individual* level for all 47 participants, carefully recording responses, logging salient points and incorporating ethnographic notes from interviews. Identities were formed for each participant (including pseudonyms), helping events to be understood as part of a biographical whole, rather than seen in isolation. Demographic data recording each participant's age, stage and SIMD status were also coded at this point, to facilitate future referencing across these dimensions.

Initially, a deductive approach was taken to coding interviews, highlighting responses that connected with the Bourdieusian conceptual framework, illustrating participant's cultural, social or economic capital, their habitus (through social origin) or their prior participation in the field (conservatoire). This proved to be somewhat simplistic, and the potential for categorised responses to be atomised and taken out of context in the biographical whole informed the conscious limitation of this kind of analysis in the coming chapters. Gow and McPherson (1980) were similarly cautious of awkwardly or inauthentically 'proscribing categories of evidence' (ibid, p21) to prove an existing agenda or theoretical construct, which would in turn silence incongruous participant reflections. This thesis arguably relies more on the incongruous reflections than the congruous ones to fulfil its aims. However, as an organisational and reflective exercise, and in generating a closer relationship with the data, this early stage of analysis was useful.

Data was sense checked by utilising the longitudinal strengths of the study, noting how responses evolved over time as the participant moved through Transitions 20/40. The longitudinal dimension allowed particular points from prior interviews to be challenged, confirmed, retracted, denied, all in an attempt to improve validity, transparency, authority and importantly retain a sense of co-authorship between researcher and participant. It was found over this process that the most unexpected, tangential and challenging issues emerged as more illustrative than they would have if the analysis had been left to the researcher or conceptual framework alone- confirming that inductive approaches to organising the data were more appropriate. These unexpected reflections were among the richest in the data, but required some critical examination and re-visitation between interviews, termed as 'member checking' or 'respondent validation' by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

3.4.3 Biographical participant summaries

Individual level analysis also involved the construction of biographical participant summaries as a pragmatic solution to reduce the data.[17] These started as visual documents to allow quick reference to individuals, quoting verbatim responses at key points on a timeline around key transitional points (e.g. change of artform, end of secondary school). This worked as an exercise in funnelling large interview transcripts into more manageable data, but also allowed formative identification of recurring points from across the research sample, while retaining fidelity to the specific participants they came from. These admittedly reductive written and visual representations of participant engagement with the conservatoire allowed quicker comparison, easy referencing and cemented workable identities to each of the participants.

3.4.4 Group analysis

Analysis was also conducted at the *group* level, to look across and between individual participants. Initially participants were grouped into cohort years for annual reporting purposes embedded within Transitions 20/40's funding agreement. However, this grouping held little significance in this final thesis, and in keeping with the research aims, participants were grouped into the aforementioned stratifications of artistic disciplines and also into their educational status at the end of the fieldwork, to identify trends within and between them.

The artistic groups inform the structure of the following chapters. At this level, recurring points began to emerge; for example, ballet participants all had considerable social capital in the Junior Conservatoire accumulated during their prior experiences in comparison to other disciplines, while production students were more aware of class-identity in relation to their contemporaries. These trends started to form a scaffolding around which further analysis could be built.

[17] See Appendix 3 for final Participant Summaries of the full research sample.

Participants organised into distinct groups based upon their destination at the conclusion of fieldwork helped to explore trends found in participant continuation towards the tertiary conservatoire, HE or the performing arts more generally. Recalling Gavin (2012), it is important at emphasise that this reductive grouping does not equate conservatoire continuation with success, or attrition with failure. Rather, it was here that the decision was made to 'funnel', or progressively focus (Miles and Huberman, 1984) on groups who had transitioned out of Transitions 20/40, as it was felt these cases of transition, into or away from the tertiary conservatoire, could better answer the research questions than those that were yet to undergo the full process. This also served to reduce the amount of data that required continued close analysis for the thesis.

3.4.5 Thematic analysis

A level of *thematic analysis* sought to consolidate the trends found at the *individual* and *group* level*s* of analysis in an attempt to conceptualise and generalise the conditions of participant transition or withdrawal in broader terms. While it had been accepted that decontextualising smaller fragments, or focussing only on dominant groups limited the unheard and marginalised voice's potency and importance, some insight could still be gained by conceptualising shared themes across groups- as abstraction and generalisability increased potential for real world utility (Bourdieu, 1999) and dissemination of this research. To ensure outliers were still heard, particular value was ascribed to exploring deviation from these shared themes, which should be evident in the coming chapters.

A consolidation of salient points from previous stages of analysis was performed by identifying similarities between the highlighted interview sections that were found to impact most profoundly on participant transitions. The five dominant themes were conceptualised as: Preparatory year; Omnivorous experiences; Big fish/small pond; Conceptualisation of the

profession; and Social integration/isolation. These themes are further explicated in the next chapter and applied to the different participant destinations groups, suggesting that a practical logic informed participation, continuation and non-continuation in the conservatoire.

3.4.6 Narrative biographies/case studies

Finally, to retain the emic perspective in parallel with the thematic organisation of data, the decision was taken to focus on smaller numbers of 'significant players' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p539) and prioritise participant specific biographical detail. These 'significant players' were further selected from within the group of participants who had transitioned into or out of the conservatoire by the end of fieldwork, to explore a range of transitional choices. Full interview transcripts were 'edited to represent the central ideas discussed' (Roulston, 2014, p304) to elucidate the participant narrative. While practical constraints often limited the extent to which full conversations could be shown, no other way of presenting the data resonated as well with the research aims, in an effort to better understand the practical logic within each individual's context. The emergent themes helped to reduce the biographical analysis into a slightly more generalisable structure, whilst retaining individual narrative. Almost seen in opposition to coding derived analysis, 'narrative not only conveys information, but brings information to life' (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011, p553), it is truly qualitative, and is illustrative of the influence taken from Bourdieu et al. (1999) and Gow and McPherson (1980) outlined at the start of this chapter.

3.4.7 Summary

The communicative power and depth of *Weight of the World* and *Tell Them From Me* informs the naturalistic and social constructivist approach towards data collection, and the interpretation of the realities of situated lived experience in conservatoires is taken from more contemporary work (Perkins, 2013a, 2013b, Burnard, 2015, Gavin, 2012). The large amount of data gathered in this research required stringent organisation and project

management, but the reward was a rich insight into individual experience and a generally high degree of participant engagement with the research process throughout the fieldwork. The longitudinal design required *individual level* analysis of transcripts to be conducted early, often, and in parallel with the data collection process. Organising participants by *groups*, first in relation to artistic discipline, then by destination, identified themes among participants in these groups. However, organising and presenting data only in this manner, out of context with the biographical whole, deviated from the emic research aims. While the resultant approach to analysis can only be generalised to a degree, the more individualised, biographical presentation within discipline specific strata in the coming chapters presents vivid, nuanced accounts of non-traditional participation in a pre-tertiary conservatoire.

4. What happened?

Introduction to results

The locations of the 47 Transitions 20/40 participants at the end of the fieldwork period were diverse and often ambiguous. Some had left the programme, but the majority were still on it. Some had changed artistic discipline and others were receiving reduced hours of provision. Some had moved onto undergraduate study, while others went straight into work. As suspected, little can be drawn from these reductive outcomes, but outlining the broader sample's patterns in transition helps to organise the large amount of data into distinct groups. Analysis within these typologies of transitions and across artistic disciplines reveals some important trends, particularly in relation to SIMD categorisation. The two most striking were, firstly, that no ballet participants transitioned into the Conservatoire and, secondly, that only one SIMD 20 participant in the entire sample transitioned into a conservatoire undergraduate programme. This tentatively suggested that the Conservatoire remained relatively inaccessible for those from the most deprived areas, despite having their tuition fees paid and participating in the mentoring scheme as part of Transitions 20/40.

4.1 Student outcomes

The majority of participants (n=23) remained on Transitions 20/40 until the end of the fieldwork period, some (n=18) had transitioned into further education, higher education or employment, and a minority (n=6) had withdrawn from the programme and the Conservatoire altogether.

Status of Participants at end of Fieldwork	
Still on Transitions 20/40	23
Transitioned	18
Withdrew	6
Total	**47**

Fig. 7. Participant status at end of fieldwork.

Looking in detail within, and between, each of these categories reveals a number of sub-categories and ambiguities that present a more complicated picture than that suggested by *Fig. 7*.

4.2 Still on Transitions

As expected, most (n=16) of the 23 participants still on Transitions 20/40 at the conclusion of fieldwork were still in secondary school. However, a group (n=5) were simultaneously undertaking a Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diploma (HND) at college while receiving reduced pro-rata provision from Transitions 20/40. An even smaller group (n= 2) of participants were now beyond school age and in part-time employment but continued to receive fully-funded tuition from Transitions 20/40 (See *Fig. 8*.)

Participants Still on Transitions	
School	16
College (HNC/HND)	5
University	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	2
Unknown	0
Total	**23**

Fig. 8. Participant parallel activity with Transitions 20/40

This illustrates how problematic any objective categorisation of student outcomes is. The ambiguity of employment and study status at this point reinforces the conclusion that recording the experience of the research cohort in this reductive way conceals the fluidity of the participant trajectories and a number of important thematic trends within these groups.

Taking participant specialism as a node of analysis, there was an element of continual and unseen transition for students whose status, in terms of the above analysis, did not change during the study. For example, 'David' was a 14-year-old screen student when he joined the fieldwork who markedly changed his trajectory by the time of his second interview, aged 16. David reflected on this in his third interview.

> I've always kind of tossed between acting and film, and I've just kind of decided that acting is more my route. […] I didn't really enjoy film as much as I had anticipated, and I just didn't really know my place in it, or what it would be.
> ('David', 3rd Interview, Aged 17).

David is not an isolated case, and he was one of two screen students in the study who changed discipline during the fieldwork. This was in addition to many more acting and music students who changed pathways, switching field and altering the nature of their interaction with the Conservatoire. For example, there were several music and drama students who, for largely social and cultural reasons, moved from designated 'juniors' programmes to more 'life-long learning' centred delivery involving summer schools or evening classes. However, they remained in the programme, so in effect had not yet *transitioned* by the accepted definition: this will be explored further in Chapter 6. Some production students also moved from a 'juniors' pathway as a way of distancing themselves from cultural and social conflict with non-Transitions 20/40 students, an issue which will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 8. This fluidity was not limited to the participants who were still on Transitions 20/40 at the end of fieldwork, and the complications in defining participant destinations continued across the various typologies of transition.

4.3 Participants who had transitioned

Among the 18 students that had transitioned out of the programme by the conclusion of the fieldwork, the largest group (n=7) went onto traditional universities. A slightly smaller number (n=6) went on to undergraduate study at the RCS, while one participant (n=1) was studying at another UK conservatoire. With equal numbers of conservatoire and university transitions, the smallest group is made up of those who had transitioned into colleges to undertake an HNC/HND. (n=4)

Participants who had Transitioned	
College (HNC/HND)	4
University	7
Other Conservatoire	1
RCS	6
Working	0
Unknown	0
Total	**18**

Fig. 9. Destinations of transitioning students

4.4 Participants who transitioned into colleges (HNC/HND)

The small number (n=4) of participants who entered HNC/HND college programmes as a self-determined transition does not include the larger number (n=5) of participants who were attending college while concurrently remaining on Transitions 20/40 to receive a reduced, pro-rata, provision of the funded tuition. The ways in which this arrangement was negotiated varied. Screen student ‘Mel’ found herself in this situation following an unsuccessful Conservatoire degree audition:

> I start college in August because I applied to come here [to the RCS], but because it's such a high standard that I don't personally even, don't think my film was good enough, so I'm not surprised [I didn't get into RCS] […] it was recorded on a phone and I didn't have any professional actors and it was literally just me filming it. There was no microphone, there was no camera assist, there was nothing, it was just me and my friend, so it definitely wasn't up to the standards that like my friends who got in. […] I'm only at college 2 days a week, going into [Juniors] year 2 of screen [here].
> ('Mel', 1st Interview, Aged 17)

Interview data shows a number of divergent appropriations and views of the purpose of colleges. A recurring point within the data was that colleges were seen as a part of the preparatory process for university or conservatoire study, rather than a goal in itself. This was particularly evident amongst the acting students, who symbolically valued undergraduate study at the Conservatoire above other institutions, citing the practical focus and industry connections as more desirable than anything traditional academia could offer. As a result, and often acting on their Transition 20/40 mentor's advice[18], college acting courses were seen as more appropriate preparation for conservatoire study than traditional universities, as college courses offered more situated learning, while academic study of the 'theatre', based on conventional language, was seen as a move in a divergent path altogether. There was a resultant trend for acting participants to use college to stay in a community of practice and accrue skills and contacts for perpetual conservatoire application, rather than pursuing academically focussed degree programmes that were seen as a departure from the conservatoire's pedagogical focus on *'doing'* (Duffy, 2013; Perkins, 2013a, 2013b). However, parental forces or, as one participant put it, 'life' demanded that this cycle was often broken before conservatoire admission was achieved, either through eventual attendance at a traditional university as a way of moving on, or through seeking employment to generate income. The number of students transitioning into college in *Fig. 9.* obscures the common practice of annual audition and re-audition for courses like the BA Acting or BA Musical Theatre

[18] As discussed in Chapter 1. Every student is allocated a Transitions 20/40 mentor.

at the RCS, while the participant attended college as a way of continuing their practical development. Further analysis showed that the particular colleges that participants in the sample had transitioned into were all located within 40 miles of the RCS.

4.5 Participants who had transitioned into university

Participants who transitioned into university (n=7) went on to institutions located in either Glasgow or Edinburgh, all within commuting distance of the RCS. However, generally these participants viewed university as a much more conscious departure from conservatoire education. This was not unanimous, and there was a diverse spread of motivations and predispositions for each of these decisions that again reinforces how problematic it is to assign a single 'positive' or 'negative' judgement to a participant's trajectory, without having the experiences outlined in detail by the participants themselves. A brief summary of each participant's situations highlighted this:

Fi (Drama) 'Fi' had already accepted a place on an English and Acting degree at a traditional university by the time she had participated in a Conservatoire summer school. She never applied to a conservatoire and was initially unaware of any distinction between conservatoire pedagogy and university, but was surprised by how academic traditional HE was after experiencing the conservatoire through Transitions 20/40. She changed to a full-time acting degree at the same university in her third year of undergraduate study.

Katie (Drama) 'Katie' had conservatoire aspirations because of the symbolic capital it held within the acting field. She unsuccessfully applied for a Conservatoire drama degree on two occasions and was training to become a primary teacher at the conclusion of fieldwork.

Heather (Music) 'Heather' had conservatoire aspirations in her first interview but was advised against continued conservatoire study by her junior

instrumental tutor during the first year of fieldwork. Her tutor believed it was unlikely she would reach the required technical standard for the undergraduate conservatoire, so Heather moved to university to pursue a non-performance and non-teaching career in music, something that was not offered at the Conservatoire.

Bernie (Music) 'Bernie' was aiming for a postgraduate music therapy degree by undertaking a nursing degree in parallel with continued brass band participation. While cognizant of the high level of tuition there, she was not socially or culturally 'at home' in the Conservatoire.

Alex (Production) 'Alex' capitulated to family pressure to study for a degree in English at university. At their second interview they were certain that this was not the correct path for them but had resigned themselves towards completing their undergraduate studies despite this.

Hope (Screen) 'Hope' unsuccessfully auditioned for the Conservatoire, but received an unconditional offer for a related university degree at the conclusion of fieldwork. Despite a positive experience at the Conservatoire, she was equally positive about her outcome and did not perceive any hierarchical distinction between university and the conservatoire.

Angela (Drama) 'Angela' was at university at the conclusion of fieldwork but had been unresponsive to e-mails and did not participate in any follow up interviews, effectively withdrawing from the study.

The majority of these university transitions are explored further in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.6 Conservatoire transitions

The majority of participants cited conservatoire undergraduate study as their objective at the start of fieldwork. Few participants directly criticised conservatoire pedagogy following participation in it – in fact the opposite was true. Of the total participant transitions (n=18), a third (n=6) of participants secured undergraduate places at the RCS and another (n=1) secured a place at another UK conservatoire. Within the cohort of participants who successfully auditioned for conservatoire education (n=7), three were musicians, two were actors and two were production students. A deductive conclusion could be that conservatoire education is now a more achievable undergraduate destination for SIMD 20/40 students after participating in Transitions 20/40. However, such a conclusion assumes that none of these participants would have accessed conservatoire degrees without Transitions 20/40.

Further thematic analysis at the group level reveals hidden trends: firstly, participants who continued into undergraduate study at a conservatoire were noticeably unhindered by practical considerations about employability and earning potential, and instead looked at their education as a more holistic undertaking, given the benefit of having relevant prior experience in the field of cultural production, which embedded knowledge of its implicit doxa and expectations of habitus. Conservatoire transitions do not consciously consider any other vocational or academic trajectory and harbour little doubt about their legitimacy as artistic practitioners, even if this means a diverse, unstable portfolio career. It is also notable that eventual conservatoire undergraduates generally used Transitions 20/40 as one of multiple sites of situated participation (Lave and Wegner, 1991). This immersive and omnivorous practice is unpacked in depth in Chapter 5. Secondly, it is found that only one of the conservatoire transitions, a production student, was from an SIMD 20 data zone, which is perhaps the most significant ‘headline’ outcome of this research. Given that the funding criteria of Transitions 20/40 has changed since the conclusion of fieldwork to only fund SIMD 20 students, this means

that only one student who was currently eligible for Transitions[19] funding continued to conservatoire undergraduate study. This has problematic implications, and issues of significance related to artistic discipline are discussed in Chapter 8.

4.7 Withdrawals

Within the total population of withdrawals from the conservatoire, a multitude of different factors impacted on student discontinuation, some voluntary and some involuntary. Some withdrawals were definite and immediately enacted, whereas others emerged over a longer period of time and constituted a much more gradual and ambiguous disengagement with the Conservatoire. On a pastoral level, there were no instances of 'cutting off' students on the institutional side, and care was taken by Transitions 20/40 staff to ensure that students were not unreflectively excluded. Institutionally enacted, or 'involuntary' exclusion was only ever the result of unsuccessful progression or audition to the next stage of their learning (ie. Juniors year 2), or through persistent non-attendance. This is discussed further in Chapters 6 and 8.
A third (n=6) of the total participant transitions (n=18) constituted participants who left the programme of their own volition, or had their funding terminated through mutual consent due to non-attendance. *Fig. 10.* outlines where these participants were by the conclusion of fieldwork:

[19] Transitions 20/40 was rebranded as Transitions following the change in funding criteria for the second SFC funding cycle running from 2017-2020. This incorporated a change of eligibility from SIMD 20 and 40 datazones, to SIMD 20 only in 2017.

Withdrawals from Transitions 20/40: Where are they now?	
School	4
College (HNC/HND)	1
University	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	0
Unknown	1
Total	**6**

Fig. 10. Participant withdrawals

Of the six participants who withdrew, four were from the lowest SIMD 20 quintile, again suggesting that those from the *most* deprived areas find conservatoire participation more problematic than those from the less deprived SIMD 40 areas. Half (n=3) of these withdrawals were ballet students, which is conspicuous as ballet students make up a proportionately small group within the research sample (n=5). Chapter 7 suggests that this is an indication that ballet has the greatest discipline-specific barriers to long-term participation, illustrating the discipline's relative struggle to recruit and retain participants through reference to the participant interviews over a four-year period. Outside of ballet withdrawals, Chapter 8 also focusses on a cultural and social divide that two production participants experienced in their continued engagement with the junior conservatoire, and uncovered some surprising sub-cultural and social demarcations in the broader pre-tertiary cohort.

4.8 Reframing success

It is important to reiterate that continuation in the conservatoire should not be equated with overall educational, vocational or artistic success (Gavin, 2012). This thesis deliberately avoids framing only continuing students as successful: such an attitude would be facile and value-laden. In many cases the decision

to withdraw was made by the participant as much as it was made by institution. Screen participant 'Craig' exemplified this, having invested heavily in the veracity of the fieldwork:

> I wouldn't decide to go here, but if there was someone thinking about it, I would definitely be building up all the good things about the Conservatoire, and obviously there is bad things, like that would just be a lie to say that there isn't, but I would never focus solely on them. I would tell them honestly, I've heard this happens and I've heard this happens, but at the same time all of this good stuff happens over the top of it […] For me, in my situation, it's been more of personal experience than an educational experience.
> ('Craig', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

This thesis focuses on social and cultural experience as a frame for the educational experience, framing learning as socially situated (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Although there are some objectively measurable outcomes for all 47 research participants, it is evident that the artistic ambitions and dispositions are heterogenous, and socially and culturally influenced by individual participant circumstances and habitus.

4.9 Moving into the findings: Case selection

The trends discussed here are a means to understanding and organising the data, rather than the end results in themselves. The participant destinations are referred to as a contextual foundation to facilitate understanding of the field the participants occupy, their trajectories through it, and how their improvisation in the field is enacted. These reductive typologies inform the selection of case study participants for further discussion in the following chapters. The participants selected for case study are those that had completed the process of *transition* as it was originally conceived (n=24). This means that the participants had *transitioned* into, through and out of Transitions 20/40 during the four-year period of fieldwork, including withdrawal from the programme. However, the problems inherit with issues like reduced-hours provision and the ambiguity of student status at the end of the fieldwork, ascribes an importance to representing some case studies who were *between*

transitions in following chapters. Therefore, this sample is organised first by artistic discipline, and then in accordance with their educational status at the end of the fieldwork, including some examples of participants who do not fit neatly into specific destinations.

4.10 Emergent themes

Across all disciplines, those who already know the field know which capitals are valued within it and focus their efforts towards an efficient use of their resources. This knowledge informs their practical logic, and how decisions and improvisations are made at certain intersections between their artistic identity and their habitus. How harmonious the relationship is often influences how they use their time at the conservatoire. The aforementioned emergent themes drawn from group analysis of transcripts, helps to conceptualise participant experiences explored throughout the findings:

Theme 1: Preparatory year

Participants who went into a conservatoire (n=7) had a narrowing of focus in the year leading up to undergraduate study. For music participants (n=3) this materialised as a conscious use of their 6th year at secondary school as a preparation for the conservatoire. One attended a full-time music specialist school, the second used their preparatory year to develop a composition portfolio, and the third took the year out of formal education altogether to establish professional routines and practices. Drama transitions (n=2) either spent a year in college or heavily engaged in practice, while production transitions (n=2) used the year to prepare a portfolio for application.

Theme 2: Omnivorous experiences

Participants who went on to study music at university (n=5) participated in an array of ensembles and bands, across a number of genres and organisational structures outwith the JCoM. The music participants who withdrew from the programme were each only in one local authority ensemble outwith the JCoM, and in one case that ensemble was directed by the same tutor that directed

his JCoM ensemble. Drama participants also generally participated in a broader range of activities. The exception was ballet, where continuous participation in a range of homogenously delivered activities emerged as an expectation of the professional field, but one that worked to exclude participants.

Theme 3: Big fish/Small pond

A common theme in the first interview across the whole sample is the frequent realisation that participants are no longer the 'star' pupil they were in school, and participants that did not continue into the conservatoire often experienced a marked relocation of where they perceived themselves to be within the musical field. In particular, it was found that experience of the bigger pond was essential for instrumentalists, actors and dancers, but less of a factor for composers, screen and production students.

Theme 4: Concepts of the profession.

Participants who continued into a conservatoire education aimed towards a particular artistic habitus in opposition to working towards a particular vocational role. Those who went on to the conservatoire were open to the idea of having to perform multiple roles to construct a portfolio career and they believed that being an artistic professional was an ongoing and fluid learning process with a set of dispositions and qualities. This tended to come from the experiences of their mentors and role models, which was generally additional to what the Junior Conservatoire or Short Courses explicitly taught at this point.

Theme 5: Social Isolation or integration.

Finally, a lack of social integration was particularly clear in the music, drama and production participants that withdrew from Transitions 20/40. For a music participant, the timetable at the JCoM offered little opportunity to socialise outwith classes. This favoured those who had no distinction between their social networks and their musical networks. Across disciplines, there was also

an inherent alienation for participants that were a) not of a specific age and b) not in possession of the visible characteristics often assumed to be signifiers of the conservatoire habitus. Drama and production students experienced a clear divide between Transitions 20/40 and fee-paying students, which caused some to seek other pathways outwith the junior conservatoire. This divide was often perceived through class-based signifiers and capitals and proved to be insurmountable for some. Social integration was not an issue in ballet, as the field was smaller, and homogenous in provision.

4.11 Conclusion

Obvious trends emerged in those who legitimised their participation in specific artistic disciplines, and obvious trends emerged in those who remained on the periphery. In the following section, Chapter 5 highlights a participant who aspires to the holistic goal of 'being a musician' through unconscious predisposition and knowledge of the practices of the professional field. This participant develops a musician's habitus and experiences a snowballing of opportunities and a very definite voluntary reduction of external social and cultural concerns, as music becomes the field where their reserves of social and cultural capital have the most worth. They improvise in the field with ease, which contrasts with musicians who labour in the symbolic sense, never achieving the foothold that the other participants often have before even starting on Transitions 20/40. Chapter 6 opens with two students who experience a relatively short journey towards consecration in the conservatoire. For the rest, drama student participation is framed as a war of attrition, with cyclical trends of application and re-application seeming to reduce the chances of continued conservatoire participation. The more time participants spend in this cyclical pursuit of the conservatoire goal, the more external concerns impact on their ability to meaningfully invest in the pursuit. Those with a stronger initial cultural investment, whether inherited or laboured, 'win', using the words of the participant. Chapter 7 looks at how ballet proves to be especially codified and homogenous in its practices and demands considerable investment of time and resources of its potential

undergraduate students. The majority of research participants either voluntarily or involuntarily withdraw, as they are unable to commit to the high-stakes game. Finally, Chapter 8 looks at the social and cultural dissonance experienced by production students, which exemplifies Reay's notion of tension and power relations in the conflicting habitus of social origin and in HE institutions, framed in a unique arts context. The cultural literacies of some participants are diverse and sophisticated, but are not necessarily valued by the institution, and, as we shall see, one participant exhibits palpable animosity towards a perceived institutional act of symbolic violence.

5. Music

‘I didn’t really make the choice’

It has been established that the legitimised values of the musical field are embedded in, and reproduced by, the organisational structures and cultural practices of educational institutions (Burnard et al. 2015; Allsup, 2016; Wright and Davies, 2016). Despite conservatoires location as ‘quasi-monastic’ spaces with relative power and autonomy within the educational and cultural fields, they are still found to be particularly self-legitimising (Kingsbury, 1988; Nettl, 1995; Perkins, 2013a, 2013b), and this chapter views this potentially exclusionary institutional reproduction and self-legitimisation in a widening access context. Music participant experiences are all framed in the Junior Conservatoire of Music (JCoM) and findings indicate that those who thrive at this level are predisposed to continue into the tertiary conservatoire. Continuing students engage in less ‘rational computation’, having already organically forged a trajectory towards becoming a practising musician prior to Transitions 20/40. In contrast, those on the periphery of the field have to engage in rational decision making, often governed by their less developed conceptualisation of vocational possibilities and limited institutional cultural and social capital. Participants who lack implicit knowledge about the conservatoire’s doxa from the outset are at an undeniable disadvantage when entering the JCoM, in comparison to those whose prior learning and lived experiences have already given them situated experience of the field. As was discussed in the previous chapter, a sample of 20 music students, randomly selected within the music strata, proportionally represent music students within Transitions 20/40. The majority (n=12) of these participants remained on Transitions 20/40 until the end of the fieldwork, while the rest (n=8) transitioned.

Destination at end of Fieldwork: Music						
Conservatoire	**University**	**College**	**With-drawn**	**Still on T20/40**		
Gregor (SIMD 40)	Bernie (SIMD 20)	Olivia (SIMD 20)	Simon (SIMD 20)	Jamie (SIMD 20)	Peter (SIMD 40)	Katya (SIMD 20)
Sandra (SIMD 40)	Heather (SIMD 20)		Gordon (SIMD 40)	Sarah (SIMD 20)	Mhairi (SIMD 40)	Ryan (SIMD 20)
Charlotte (SIMD 40)				Christine (SIMD 20)	Alfie (SIMD 40)	Oran (SIMD 40)
				Gary (SIMD 20)	Kirsten (SIMD 40)	Dana (SIMD 40)

Fig. 11. Music participant destinations.

This chapter focusses on five of the eight cases of transition that illustrate the emergent themes from analysis. The first case discussed is 'Gregor', who was recruited in 2013 and on a conservatoire undergraduate programme at the conclusion of fieldwork. As a result of his cultural literacy within the field and prior situated experience within it, Gregor focusses less on *what* he wants to do and focusses more on *who* he wants to be. The extent of his inherited cultural and social capital, and the formation of his habitus legitimise his participation from the start.

5.1 The case of 'Gregor'

Gregor spent four years on Transitions 20/40 following a year of unsustainable privately funded participation at the JCoM. Gregor was 14 years old at the start of fieldwork and visibly comfortable in the Conservatoire. He was precociously familiar with academic research conventions, sure of his opinions and knowledgeable about the vocational opportunities available to him beyond performing and teaching. He was literate in the cultural parlance of the conservatoire and seemed to effortlessly traverse several cultural fields within the institution.

> ‘The trad performance class, it’s much, much more laid back than the classical one. I remember the classical ones, especially because I was trad but you still have to do a classical performance class and it was like, you’d be called out your class and you’d have to go and play in front of all these people and they’d all be doing Chopin suites and you’d be doing your wee Strathspey, so yeah, that was always fun, but then this year the trad performance classes have started, and it’s a smaller class, in a smaller room and it’s much more, it’s a much better vibe. You don’t feel…you don’t dread it like you do with the classical ones. […] I think with the trad one it’s more about your performance than what you’re playing. Like, if you play wrong notes it doesn’t really matter but if your shifty, it’s more about your presence than your actual playing I think’ (‘Gregor’, 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Gregor’s first interview was striking in its confidence, and the depth of understanding he exhibited about the rules and conventions of genres, styles, departments and instruments. Oblivious to how remarkable this was, he spoke about being ‘shifty’, ‘chopping’, ‘tunes’ and ‘sessions’ with an authenticity that discloses an insider knowledge of Scottish traditional music, but would also effortlessly discuss the bowing patterns in the Brandenburg Concertos without imagining that the researcher might not understand what he was talking about, and without any detectable sense that he was ‘showing off’. Importantly, he was not fearful of playing ‘wrong notes’, something which many other participants in the sample harboured a great deal of anxiety about. Having already attended the JCoM, it was established that Gregor had considerable amounts of inherited cultural capital.

> I’m from an incredibly musical family. My grandad [is a professional musician]. My gran [is a musician], my aunt lives in [another country] and is a very, very good [musician], and my mum plays every instrument under the moon. She does a wee bit of trad, but again she’s classically taught. (‘Gregor’, 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Gregor was an indisputable conservatoire insider. As well as the benefits this held in terms of cultural literacy there were also several aspects of his habitus that demonstrably came from Gregor’s immersion in the field from a young age. He outlined a picture of domestic collaboration and music making, primarily with his mother.

> My mum's always saying that I play lots but don't practice enough. ('Gregor', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Her support was more meaningful and field specific than generic parental support, being more comparable to that of a mentor or performance coach. This was augmented by several generations of insider knowledge of the nature of a professional musician's life.

> My mum […] I think she was a bit off put when I told her I wanted to become a musician because that's what she does […] But yeah, she's now seen that there's no stopping me and now she's pushing for bursaries and getting into things. ('Gregor', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

This situated knowledge of the field engendered realistic expectations of the profession, and the possibilities he saw as available to him were based upon this 'feel for the game'.

> I mean I'm realistic, I'm not going to be the next [famous instrumentalist], but I want to be good, I want people to recognise me as a good trad player, and again this is probably the best way for me to do it. ('Gregor', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Gregor downplayed the formally accredited level of his playing, having reached ABRSM Grade 8 in his first instrument before the first interview. However, he perceived this institutionalised capital to be of limited worth in the professional field, and that durable and transposable dispositions and embodied practices were more important than institutionalised cultural capital for the legitimate music professional.

Gregor progressed through the JCoM and remained on Transitions 20/40 for all four years of the fieldwork period, meeting for interview once each year. In his third interview he speaks of leaving school a year early.

> I've got a year out planned, so I'll still be coming to Juniors throughout that year, because Transitions 20/40 covers you for a gap year as well which is really good, [..] and they're lenient in the fact that I can go and

> I've got a month in [a European country] and then I go from there and I fly to [North America] for three weeks, and then I fly to, well, I'll probably get the train to [another country], and then, so like I'm off for ages but I can still come here when I'm in Scotland which is good. Yeah, loads of stuff, like I've been asked to play in [a high-profile orchestra] in [another European country] for two weeks in [a city], which will be really cool.
> ('Gregor', 3rd Interview, Aged 16)

Most other participants would have seen leaving school at the end of 5th year with minimal qualifications as an unjustified gamble, but Gregor planned to establish a practice routine and perform in as many different contexts as possible. He ascribed more value to relevant situated practice in the musical field than continuation at school. This was initially met with parental trepidation, but he kept a strict routine and was vindicated when he compared himself with his contemporaries who had stayed in school.

> The only time that there was a big sort of disagreement was when I decided to not do 6th year, but since then, because mum thought I would just be waking up at 1pm every day and not doing much, but even in the summer holidays after the time I would have been in school anyway, I did so much that she was won around anyway because it has definitely been the right thing to do. Actually, the other day I was at a big school party and there were loads of people from school there and it was awful seeing all these people exactly as they were when I left, because I think this last year was actually my biggest year in terms of changes and the sort of settling in, and then going back to them and they're all like, exactly as they were. Like I don't feel 17 at all, but they all made me feel 17. […] I was doing like 5 hours [practice] a day, and 5 hours a day is easy when you don't have anything else on […] but if you've got a full day of school and you've woken up at half-seven to then do that and then get home and practice until you're going to bed, it's really exhausting so I don't think it's a bad thing to choose an easier option to do something.
> ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Gregor was predisposed to the instrumental specialism that is privileged in the conservatoire field. His parents understood the importance of immersion and habit formation, but, crucially, he used his knowledge of the field to maximise his resources of time and energy, to prioritise only the activities that were

going to contribute towards his advancement into an undergraduate degree at the conservatoire.

Omnivorous Experiences

Gregor had been an active performer since his 1st interview,[20] but despite his instrumental specialism, he was not limited by a homogenous musical practice. On the contrary, Gregor displayed a capacity for sustaining multiple projects in different sub-fields at any given time. He had orchestral 'gigs' and tutoring commitments at various music schools and residential summer courses, as well as his regular 'sessions' and bands. Gregor was of the opinion that opportunities to play were rarely without merit. As he put it, 'it's just immersion', and this kind of immersion was particularly characteristic of the traditional music world, with its convention of oral (and aural) transmission of an embodied repertoire.

> In trad it's all about your repertoire and what you know, because a lot of it is the session scene and you turn up and you just, you make music, so the more tunes you know the more people you can make music with, so that's why I'm going there. Again, it's just good craic. There's lots of great people there
> ('Gregor', 3rd Interview, Aged 16)

The Scottish traditional music field legitimises a particularly socially situated practice (McKerrell and Bakan, 2016; Dickson, 2018). Repertoire is a product of habitus as much as it is an embodied capital, and Gregor was able to transpose this durable disposition across musical fields. This continual inter-disciplinary immersion also augmented Gregor's considerable social capital, thanks to the accessibility to top-level traditional music practitioners in the 'sessions' in which Gregor participated.

> We've got […] all these big names and you've got their album at home and then you get up and they're there […] It's great. I mean here in Glasgow is like the hotspot of traditional music. Especially more recently and the sort of renewal or revival of trad has happened here. So, you've got like hundreds of musicians just in their sort of 20s and

[20] Gregor was already participating in sessions in Glasgow pubs at this point despite being underage.

> 30s who are just, all these new names and new sounds and they're all always here. ('Gregor', 2nd Interview, Aged 15)

By his final interview Gregor's diary was populated with paid work that was gained without actively looking. By participating in sessions in a relatively peripheral way over a number of years, he constructed an artistic and social identity in the field and moved towards full participation.

> I didn't really make the choice, [to start playing professionally] it was just that more and more people have been coming to me rather than me going to them which is the change that's happened, like I've not asked for a gig in ages now which is good. It's so much easier. ('Gregor', 3rd Interview, Aged 16)

From his first interview Gregor demonstrated a knowledge of the structure of the professional field and how long-term cultural immersion would help position him within it. Working in multiple contexts also afforded Gregor the opportunity to observe the dominant values and practices within musical sub-fields and for him to choose an appropriate trajectory.

> If you chat to a band and they tell you they've got a gig, they're always really positive about it and they're happy that they've got a gig, but if you talk to an SNO[21] player and they've got a gig they're just like 'I HAVE to play a gig this evening' and they always seem really glum about it, and for me that's not the point, especially because they're all better musicians than I am in terms of their playing right now, but most of them don't write and most of them do other freelance stuff and a bit of teaching, and they're all exceptional players, and I don't know if it's rude to say it but they don't really do anything with it. ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

This *meta-literacy* allowed Gregor to compare the doxa between sub-fields and take the most advantageous elements in each of them. As a result, he took up dominant positions in multiple intersecting fields, and opportunities frequently led to other opportunities, many of which would have been beyond the realistic expectations of most other participants.

[21] Royal Scottish National Orchestra

> I've got loads of stuff. There's a grant for, it's such a specific grant but it's basically for me to do this camp, it's partially funded by [a particular state], I don't know what it's called, but it's a state provision for funding foreign arts students on a temporary basis and the camp itself has a fund and they get combined to pay for my tuition and stay there during camp, so the only thing I need to pay for is my flight. For [one country] the orchestra have paid for everything, all you need to do is get there which is great, [for another country], I've been asked to play in [another country] and it's the same thing […] I've sent like a thousand e-mails asking loads of people for money and at least one gets back and you can plan something crazy with it. ('Gregor', 3rd Interview, Aged 16)

Gregor's situated knowledge of the professional field also contributed to his humility. He was aware there was always a level above him, and, significantly, because of his role-models and mentors, he knew what kind of labour and investment was required to get to the next level.

> I got into [a national orchestra] since the last time we met, and it was great, and they are all so good, so much better than me it's insane, but when you're playing in schools all the time you get quite cocky and you think you're doing pretty well and then you get thrown into the back of [the orchestra] and you're like 'Aww man' […]. I've met so many people because of it. ('Gregor', 3rd Interview, Aged 16)

This sense of perspective supported his likely progression into the profession in logical, achievable steps, and Gregor was happy to invest the time and effort to reach these next levels. This work ethic was affirmed by his instrumental teacher at the commencement of his undergraduate degree at the RCS.

> In my lesson with [my Conservatoire instrumental teacher] he said that I have to live the next 4 years or the rest of my life by 1 of 2 pains. He said you have to choose either one, and it's either discipline or regret, and I was like 'Oh my god!' but he's right. I think it makes more sense to go through a shitty 3 years of work to then be free for the rest of my life to be as lazy as I want because I've got what I need to get. And also it would be nice to think that I would get into a really good routine and leave uni and that will be me.
> ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Despite his musical aspirations, Gregor never spoke vocationally, instead labouring to adopt and embody the dispositions and behaviours he had

situated evidence were the elemental characteristics of professional musicians.

> It's very different for every single professional musician in music, so I don't know how my professional life will look, but there's also the fact that I'm still living at home and I'm still, and I will for 1st year, and I'm still, I'm not earning nearly enough for it to be a viable career at the moment, so I don't know how close I am to being a professional, but I am playing as much as I think a professional would be, which I think is the important thing, because the money will just come with climbing up the sort of circles and just getting better as well and being a better musician and they pay you better.
> ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Gregor's conceptualisation of the music profession had firstly been inherited, informed by multiple generations of his family having music careers before him; secondly by some clearly defined role models that he admired and had access to through the city's traditional music scene; and thirdly, through a philosophical predisposition towards artistic work that aligned with the dominant values and doxa of the field.

> The ideal job for me would be in a position where I can regularly create music that genuinely expresses something and my worst nightmare is to go into meaningless music or a crappy school teaching post, or stuck in a desk with 20 other [musicians] in an orchestra where you have no say and you're just sort of a cog in someone else's idea.
> ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Gregor had strong views about overt vocationalism in musical training, revealing creative and artistic dispositions that were socially and culturally incongruent with the historically practical and vocational objective of conservatoire training (Kingsbury, 1988; Duffy, 2013), but in keeping with the contemporary shift towards more open forms of musical expression (Allsup, 2016; Burnard, 2015; Wright and Davies, 2016).

Social Isolation/Integration

Gregor's social activities were inseparable from his musical ones, which put him in the position of being able to maintain balance between the different

facets of his life despite the pressures of devoting so much time to musical practice.

> I structure my life in three ways. I've got school, social life and music, and music and social life are quite interlinked, but I don't want to be doing so much of one thing that the other two lose out. So, I want to become as good at music as I can without sacrificing school and social life. So that's the way I'm looking at it now. […] It's that kind of thing where your teacher is trying to describe fractions and they give you a pie chart which is a circle and it's split into bits. You've got your music which is like half, but you need to squeeze, you can't let it take over everything. Plus, the other half feeds into everything, you know with my family all being musicians and the school music department, so you can't let one thing shut down the others.
> ('Gregor', 2nd Interview, Aged 15)

Musical activity connected the different aspects in Gregor's life, meaning that devoting extensive time and resources to music did not reduce his social capital. Rather, the two worlds intersected and complimented each other, and he experienced very little conflict as a result.

> The beauty of music and art generally is that it shows you everything else in life through a different light, and so you can meet people through music, you can go to places through music, you can travel, you can… most of the new experiences I'm getting in life I've got through music because that's a merit of me doing music, and so even though it's taking the centre focus now, it's not excluding things.
> ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Summary

Gregor had a lifetime of situated experience in multiple musical fields. He invested all of his symbolic and material resources into becoming a musician, but unlike other participants in this study, this investment was not at the expense of other areas of his life. His music specialism in his final year did not conflict with other academic pursuits because he had eliminated them from his life. His social capital came from musical activity and he even gained economic capital from performing, which in itself helped him move towards a legitimised position within the field before undergraduate application. When combined with Gregor's institutionally recognised instrumental ability, his agency and inherited cultural capital, and his meta-literacy and adaptable

habitus becoming compatible with multiple musical fields, it always seemed likely he would progress to the tertiary conservatoire.

5.2 The case of 'Simon'

> It was difficult up here. Difficult work.
> ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

In contrast to Gregor, Simon withdrew from Transitions 20/40 after two years, but spent three years in the fieldwork. He was interviewed once in his first year, aged 14, and again two years later, aged 16, one year after he had left Transitions 20/40. His relationship with the JCoM differed from Gregor's, as Simon came into the Conservatoire from a peripheral position and lacked the omnivorous and immersive experiences that had predisposed Gregor towards continued study. Simon was a prize-winning musician in his secondary school, but believed himself to be inadequate at the JCoM. His transition was further hindered by his narrower conception of the vocational possibilities within the music profession. Classical performance and teaching were his only conceivable possibilities, as instrumental and classroom teachers were the only role-models or mentors he had access to. Furthermore, Simon's habitus, which was rooted in his social origin, clashed with what he saw as the dominant institutional habitus. He saw other students at the JCoM proudly signifying their habitus through speech and behaviour that was alien to him. This invariably led to a sense of social isolation and a lack of any meaningful connection to the Conservatoire on a social or cultural level.

Preparatory Year

Simon was introduced to music through local authority instrumental lessons and thrived in this setting, but his experience never extended beyond this. Simon had strong connections with family and friends and a well-established home background, but his family offered no compatible inherited capital within the musical field he was now attempting to negotiate, and the symbolic values

of his broader social groups conflicted with those of the Conservatoire in terms of language, dispositions and career expectations.

> [My stepdad's] like a manager thing for a [leisure centre]. [My mum's] a carer, she helps out old people and stuff, and then my brother […] he's a marine engineer. […] he's not musical […] but he like pushes me as well. Like he always wants me to do better and like my stepdad kinda tells me everything and then my wee sister comes up and says 'Play your [instrument] [Simon]' My dad passed away when I was just wee, and I always wanted like to do something for him and he never got to see me play the [instrument] and everything, and I've always been motivated to do well for, like, my mum and everything, and I just wanted him to be, like proud of, like him, I'd like him to be proud of me.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Recall that Gregor had no distinction between friends and musical collaborators: they were the same people, and because of this he experienced very little social resistance towards immersing himself in musical activities, as musical participation actually increased his social capital. Simon, in contrast, experienced the exact opposite, and his attendance at the JCoM had an effect on his friendships.

> They always go up to [town] on Saturdays, they always go 'Aw you comin' up?' and I just say I cannae, I'm going to my music hing, and they're all like 'Aw, just dog it'[22] and I say I cannae.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Simon's interest in football held far more currency among his existing social networks, and he faced resistance to immersing himself in musical activity. This resistance was not merely social, as other factors dictated his autonomy in terms of practice habits.

> There's some nights, cause my wee sister goes to bed earlier and it's… I'm just coming in and I'm forgetting it, that and then I just see it, I just see my [instrument] and then I'm like 'Och, I forgot to practice it!' and some weeks I only practice like two times and I feel really bad cause I know that I should be doing it more if I want to do a job, so I should be getting it more.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

[22] Scottish vernacular. To play truant.

Simon faced structural limitations on his capacity to engage in the expected practice habits of the conservatoire field. In addition, Simon's only prior performance or ensemble experiences were in school or local authority wind bands. He was familiar with the practices and expectations of the local authority field and it came easy to him, but it proved problematic for Simon to prioritise any additional investment of time to broaden his musical experience, because it had little value in his immediate social field. He found himself in the JCoM, where immersion and additional labour were expected, and he was unwilling to gamble more traditionally valued academic capitals on his musical development.

> Well it was the main reason why I left. I kind of wanted to focus on my actual studies at school, because this was quite overwhelming. […] it took up a big amount of my time. So, I felt like I just wanted to get my English and my Maths and stuff like, aced, just to get me ready for the rest of it, for my Highers and stuff, so that was the main reason why. ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Simon's limited capacity to specialise and engage with all musical possibilities resulted in fewer opportunities being presented to him, and further reduced his capacity to accrue field-specific social capital.

Big fish/small pond

Simon's transition into the JCoM reflected his lack of prior experience in professional contexts, and his initial reflections on simply walking around the corridors outlined the stark reality of encountering a conservatoire learning culture, both in a physical and symbolic sense, for the first time.

> I don't think I relaxed enough when I was looking at the building, I was hearing all these, while I was walking, I was hearing all these people play all these amazing pieces and then thinking that I'm going to play this piece and because I rehearse it so many times it just seems like it's not significant and then you hear all these other people playing these hundreds of semi-quavers and everything and then it gets quite intimidating. ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Simon saw the labour involved behind these semi-quaver passages, and it seemed unattainable for him. It was impossible to mitigate the difference between his prior experience and those of the fellow students he now shared a field with. Simon experienced this starkly when he was placed in the traditionally hierarchical ensembles of the JCoM.

> I was put into the orchestra […] it was called 2nd orchestra or something, something along those lines, but I didn't really like it. Yeah, I didn't like it at all. […] It was just, I'll say it again, it was overwhelming. There was too much pressure on me, because I think I was the only [instrument at my desk] in it and there was all these stand out solos and I was just like, I wasn't too keen on it. But I'm pretty sure that got taken out and then I got a different orchestra put in place for me, but that was like coming about when I was just leaving.
> ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Transitions 20/40 was reactive and sought further ensemble opportunities for Simon to gain situated musical experiences, such as small chamber groups, but the multiple factors that worked against Simon worsened as his JCoM workload grew and Simon became cognizant of how peripheral he was. In contrast to Gregor, Simon had no real role model or mentor outwith the Conservatoire to help map his trajectory. Each Transitions 20/40 student had a mentor and a PLP, however, this had not compensated for Simon's unequal starting point, or at least did not approach the depth of support that Gregor felt. As a result, Simon had limited knowledge of the possibilities or pathways that he could follow at this stage.

Conceptualisation of music profession

Simon had never heard of the RCS before Transitions 20/40 and had therefore never considered undergraduate study there.

> GJS: When did you first hear about this place then?
>
> Simon: Just when my teacher said 'Do you want to go into it?'. I literally knew nothing about it and what it was like.
>
> GJS: So you didn't really know how to go about getting your feet on the ladder in a career in music?
>
> Simon: No.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Comparison of Simon's interview in his first year with his interview after he withdrew suggests an inequality that occurs even before the junior conservatoire, visible in the contrast between the kind of situated and immersive learning Gregor had and the restricted influences and contextual circumstances of Simon. Without experience of the field, Simon's options were limited to those set out in the prospectus (Reay, 2005), whereas Gregor understood a wider range of possibilities. In his first interview, while still relatively new to the field, Simon responded to a question about what music meant to him with a vocational response that would have been more in keeping with a job interview.

> I'm wanting to take my music to the next level and one day try and get a job with music, so that's, this is kind of like the best step forward to it. […] I'd like to teach in a class or one-to-one, 'cause I was looking at all the jobs and everything on the internet like two weeks ago and I was, I just thought that, I was looking at all the best jobs to go to and it was one-to-one mostly is the best.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

With the benefit of hindsight, Simon was later able to reflect upon how his limited awareness of the professional possibilities contributed to his withdrawal from the programme.

> I knew that the only career really out of it was teaching […] but I don't particularly like English, and I knew I needed a higher English to get into it […] It was my [instrumental] teacher that said that the way that I should go is the BEd course, and then it was my teachers at my actual school as well, like my secondary school, so then I was just thinking about it and I was like 'mmmm'. I don't really like English that much and I'm not really confident with my English.
> ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Simon knew of two ways to pursue a music career; teaching or performing. Diametrically opposed, one where you can earn money and have stability, and one fraught with insecurity in which success was virtually impossible.

> My teacher just advised me not to do [performing] because you can't make a career out of it. It's very hard to make money out of it anyway,

> and there was more teachers just advising me not to do it as well, so it just seemed like that was off the table. […] it was just like it was better to do a BEd course rather than going into performing. That was just a recurring theme, there was zero money in it and then recently actually my mum met a performer, like a singer that was telling her about it and she said yeah, it's very hard to get into performing and there's not a lot of money in it anyway.
> ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Simon's bifurcated view of the professional field contrasted with Gregor's, which incorporated intersecting combinations of teaching and performing amongst a broader array of diverse skills that included composing, arranging, facilitating and organising. Gregor knew practising professionals who weaved portfolio careers with multiple threads of musical activity, a doxa of the field that remained hidden to Simon, and was never accrued at the JCoM, whether from his teachers, mentors or contemporaries. The impenetrability of 'the secret garden' (Burt and Mills, 2006b; Perkins, 2013b; Burwell, Carey, and Bennett, 2018) was compounded by his lack of social connection with the JCoM.

Social Isolation/Integration

Simon's field of social origin did not attribute value to the cultural capital he had accrued in the musical field, which made him less predisposed towards social immersion in it. It also made little practical sense to undergo a symbolically enacted habitus reformulation (Costa, Burke and Murphy, 2019) that abandoned symbolic indicators of his social origin, because the conservatoire field did not align with the symbolic capitals that were valuable for him back home. This invariably contributed to the alienation he articulated in his first interview (Reay, 2017).

> Simon: I feel like I should talk more, because I feel like I don't really talk much to the other people, but I feel like I should.
>
> GJS: So do you just kind of keep yourself to yourself?
>
> Simon: Uh-huh.
> ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

Simon had a school friend that attended the JCoM and he would exclusively talk to others *'through'* her. He struggled to accrue social capital of his own as his dispositions and tastes were different to others around him at the conservatoire.

> I think it's just that all my other friends are more into football. I've grown up with them. Like I was in a school football programme in 1st and 2nd year so it's more their sort of personality that I've grown up with more. Like they're not into music and when I said I was going up here they were all like 'Aw, you're pure posh noo' so it's like a different kind of mindset. ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

The immersive experience of a two-year school football programme had a more constitutive effect upon Simon's dispositions than his musical activity. This was the environment in which Simon learned to communicate and he perceived these methods of communication and behaviour to contrast with the Conservatoire's.

> I don't know. They could be similar but it's just how [because] they're not musical. That they're just different and they're just like… Like if I went to, if I was in a school that's more musical, em, I would probably communicate more. […] Em, cause none of my friends go to it they feel like it's really weird. They don't give this a second thought, it's always just 'it's for posh people' or 'it's for up-stuck people' and everything, but I know that it's not due to all the like characters that you see in here and everything. ('Simon', 1st Interview, Aged 14)

The social isolation he experienced at the JCoM permeated his Transitions 20/40 experience, and in an interview a year after his withdrawal, he reflected on how the way he talked, dressed and carried himself betrayed a conflicting habitus to the institutionally dominant one.

> Simon: It was always on my mind because where I'm from it's not like this is a thing that people I know go tae, so it was like it was always on my mind but at the same time I felt quite good about it because it was like a higher end, but then at the same time it was like looking at other people and I was like, these are just so much more posh than me. Like I was just sitting there in trackies and stuff, and it was just, it was always on my mind but it didn't like change that I wanted to leave or anything.

> GJS: So how did those kind of things make themselves obvious?
>
> Simon: Just, like the way people spoke really. Like cause, obviously different places are more slang and aw that, doon where I am it's pretty slang so it's quite like broad Scottish, but wi' here, some of the people that are here are like really posh and I just wasn't used to it really, like that type of, like, I'm not trying to discriminate anybody, but it was just how people spoke and stuff, and I was like 'You seem a bit posh'. ('Simon', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Simon embodied authentic physical and cultural signifiers that were legitimised in his field of social origin. His alienation in the JCoM, as a result of these signifiers, was largely responsible for his withdrawal from Transitions 20/40, but symptomatic of a more determinant issue of structural exclusion that was enacted before he even started, based on Simon's peripheral location in the field, his lack of inherited capital, and his durable habitus. This is illuminated further by the case of Bernie.

5.3 The case of 'Bernie'

Bernie never actively pursued a conservatoire degree, despite joining Transitions 20/40 after an HNC course at college. She excelled at school, but was unwilling to commit to a narrow, specialised performance career. During the fieldwork she transitioned into a nursing degree at university with the intention of doing a postgraduate course in music therapy. Like Simon, she identified a social and cultural stratification within the JCoM's social spaces related to the symbolic indicators of her social background. She was also older than any of the other music participants, aged 18 at her first interview, and not only believed that her age in comparison to other students led to her social isolation, but that the additional social and cultural distinction she experienced was symptomatic of the broader cultural field in which the conservatoire is situated.

Preparatory Year

Bernie left secondary school after her 5th year. Like Gregor she decided to specialise in music but took an alternative pathway by doing an HNC at college. However, her college experience did not meet her expectations.

> I didn't really have [an instrumental] teacher when I was at college, so I really wanted to improve my playing so I thought because some of the people I was already at college with were already at Juniors and they were all in the same position as me; a gap year. […] I didn't want to do sixth year at school and it was just to get into what I was interested in. Yeah and I enjoyed it but it wasn't the field that I wanted to go into, it was more pop and rock based and I'm a classical player.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Without insider knowledge of the field, Bernie made the choice to attend college without a clear sense of the institution's learning culture and pedagogical emphasis. Bernie found herself in a position where she had staked her limited resources on an educational trajectory that held little symbolic worth in the field that she wished to enter.

> I wasn't getting regular tuition [because] my teacher wasn't in every week, I felt like I was falling behind and I wasn't getting enough support […] I can't afford private tuition because I had already paid for private tuition before and I basically used up all the money.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Although the practical focus of conservatoire education has been framed (Duffy, 2013) as a liberation from the heavily codified academic milieu that excludes those from working-class backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1984, p156), it only works effectively if comprehensive secondary education, access courses, FE programmes and college courses all connect with conservatoire education. In Bernie's experience, her preparatory year at college did not.

> It was very, very theory based. […] I don't mind writing essays surprisingly, but I felt like I didn't really have the time to play [my main instrument] as much or play [my second instrument] because I was focussing on all these essays which is the same as uni really. You have to organise your time and organise yourself so you get a mix of

> what you want, but I felt my [instrumental] playing gradually getting kind of behind.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Bernie had musical contemporaries in brass bands who had either been studying full-time at a specialist music school or using the JCoM amongst a portfolio of other activities on a gap year like Gregor. She had not initially considered the JCoM for her 'gap year' but the emergence of Transitions 20/40 allowed her to.

> I went on to the Junior Conservatoire and then found out that I was actually eligible to apply for Transitions because I'm skint enough as it is [laughs] cause it was really good, cause I was getting this free tuition and not having to pay for it and not having the worry of saving up and stressing about money. ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Omnivorous Experiences

Bernie came from a brass and concert band culture with a strong identity as a musical subfield (Herbert, 2000; Finnegan, 1989). This subfield frequently intersected with the Conservatoire through shared participants: many of Bernie's band mates were already students or former students of the JCoM.

> I knew tons of people that went to Juniors. Tons! I seen how well they can play and I thought 'Wow, it must be really good if they can play to that standard'. ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Bernie aspired to the high technical standards she perceived in other JCoM students and prior to Transitions 20/40, she participated in multiple ensembles that gave her a range of performance experiences across genres. She planned to join the university big band during her undergraduate studies to keep her 'chops' up for postgraduate study, but harboured doubts about her capacity for extensive musical activity, based on her current struggle to maintain ensemble participation in parallel with a part-time supermarket job.

> I know it'll be tough. I know I'll miss it because even this year I've not been playing as much as I was previously when I was at college.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Bernie's band experience provided her with situated experience and informed expectations of the high technical standards at the JCoM, which she used as motivation following her college experience.

> I was struggling with it before I came here, I absolutely hated playing […] I felt that I couldn't play properly and now three weeks, four weeks into here my embouchure was fine. Sorted, and I was like enjoying it again, going to band and not being as nervous about it, so it's kind of sorted it for life really. I feel like I've been prepared to go on and do what I want to do. ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

The JCoM was a good musical fit, and Bernie's main struggles were financial, believing that those who went on to conservatoire degrees had extensive reserves of economic capital. However, the less explicit social structures of the JCoM contained a form of stratification that she believed was reflective of the profession.

> I find, especially with music, you see all the people that succeed and they've got the money and you know, they've got the resources to do it, whereas people like me who have got just average just mums and dads with average jobs find they like fall behind because they've just not got the support there to go on to degree level.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Like Simon, Bernie never felt socially legitimised, or particularly 'of' the conservatoire, beyond her existing social connections. She perceived an inverse distinction in two ways: firstly, she had less economic capital and the associated symbolic and embodied qualities of a middle or upper-class habitus, and secondly because she was at least a year older than most other JCoM students, and less invested in 'playing the game'.

> Junior Conservatoire students can be quite 'Oh, you're a Transitions student, oh you can't afford it' and all the rest of it. Not all of them, but there is a few. […] There is a wee element of it, but I think there's an element of that in every part of life. I think it's just everywhere and I think that having that kind of thing kind of prepares you for going onto degree level, because you know there's gonnae be people like that at uni and work and all the rest of it.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Like Simon, Bernie perceived a social and cultural distinction between Transitions 20/40 and non-Transitions 20/40 students, symbolically signified by her vernacular and forthright speech that was rare in the JCoM, and her habitus, which was pragmatic and grounded. She did not get the sense that others had jobs or enjoyed '*going on nights out'.*

> I'm older compared to everyone else. I'm 18, and there's quite a few others who are 18 as well but they're still at school so I find that my chat's a bit different from the others, because I go on nights out and stuff and they're like at school, so it's quite strange.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Her durable habitus made her resilient to social alienation, and as she was knowingly striving for a non-performance career, her Conservatoire attendance had a clear objective which limited her concern with any negative perception others in the field had of her, based on the field's hierarchical de-legitimisation of her professional ambitions (Perkins, 2013a, p205).

Concepts of Music Profession

Bernie's conceptualisation of the music profession largely came from the brass band sub-field (Dubios, Méon and Bart, 2013; Finnegan, 1989) which is characterised by musicians generating income outwith their music making activity, whilst retaining the valuable symbolic capital of their musical activities and band identities. She viewed music as socially situated and diverse in its purposes and applications.

> Through this year I decided I wanted to do something to do with music therapy, […] before then I was set on doing performance and then coming here and volunteering in a care home and stuff and seeing people coming to care come and they play music to the residents and it kind of made me think 'Oh, that would be something quite interesting to do' because it's a completely other aspect of music that people don't really recognise as much. Everybody just sees the RSNO and all the rest of it so it would be quite interesting to go do something to do with music therapy in that kind of field.
> ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Bernie chose to study nursing at university with the plan of becoming a music therapist, exhibiting little sense that she was influenced into following a more traditional academic route, but rather that it was the result of a durable disposition towards combining musical abilities with a desire to work in healthcare. Her habitus endured conflicting opinions regarding what her best options were.

> It felt like, from different people's opinions I was kind of tied between going to a conservatoire and going to a uni. […] I've always been tied between nursing and music. It's always been 'Oh I'd love to be a nurse but I'd love doing music as well' and the more I thought about it the more I thought well what about I put the two of them together.[…] I'm gonnae go do nursing and then hopefully do a postgrad because I'd like to get the clinical side first so I know all the medical talk and all the rest of it, and then hopefully go on and do something to do with music therapy. ('Bernie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Despite not having prior experience of music therapy, she was able to combine the symbolic value and laboured investment in music with her social and cultural predisposition towards healthcare. Unfortunately, the Conservatoire was unable to accommodate this within its current curricular breadth (Renshaw, 2013).

5.4 The case of 'Heather'

Expanding curricular breadth would not only broaden career options, but also better connect with the diverse presage-learning experiences of participants from a wider range of backgrounds (Lebler, Burt-Perkins and Carey, 2009). Heather had apparent similarities to Gregor in her first interview; engaged in diverse music making practices with a clear passion and drive.

> I just know I want to do music as a career and whatever that may be or wherever that may take me, music is a focus. [...] I do want to do the thing I love.
> ('Heather', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Heather was a confident 15-year-old musician when she entered the fieldwork. She had considerable prior experience, missing her first week at

JCoM because she was performing at a music festival overseas. Like Gregor in particular, she demonstrated a particularly passionate connection with music beyond its vocational possibilities. Common sense indicated that Heather would transition into the tertiary Conservatoire following her first interview because of her evident musical habitus. However, Heather's lack of formal training prior to Transitions 20/40, combined with the absence of hereditary field specific knowledge of the music profession, saw her relationship with her instrument and her career expectations radically alter during her three years at the JCoM.

Omnivorous Experiences

Collaborative music making was common in Heather's domestic environment, and two siblings had prior participation at the Conservatoire.

> I've got two older sisters and they've both attended, not as the junior RCS or as RCS but my sister who is doing a [performing arts] course in university, she came when she was in high school and did a summer course here, and my other sister has come and played in an orchestra here as well, so I've come for that and listened to the concerts as well, so I'm familiar with the building and the atmosphere as well. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

None of her siblings continued into the tertiary conservatoire, but she was already familiar with the pre-tertiary conservatoire. She had extensive prior informal and non-formal ensemble experience in diverse settings including traditional, jazz, country, pop and rock, and had inherited cultural capital.

> My sister, she plays [the same instrument as me] and she sings. My sister actually plays [3 other instruments] and she does some singing. My mum plays piano and she used to do singing and my dad used to do singing and he used to play the snare drum and my papa plays accordion and my gran sings. My grandma used to play piano so yeah, there's lots of music in the family.
> ('Heather', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Heather's musically active and collaborative domestic environment was comparable to Gregor's, except that his inherited cultural capital was more symbolically legitimised within the Conservatoire. His grandfather and mother

were professional musicians and familiar with the conservatoire field. He displayed an effortless sense of belonging in these worlds because he effortlessly belonged. While Heather's experience in the domestic context initially gave her a confidence and musical literacy, its more informal practices held much less symbolic and institutionalised value.

> My sisters and I do different things together […] We formed a group and […] I played keyboard and we all sang. So we picked a song and we all introduced our own harmonies to it, and we all did three part harmonies for all our songs. The keyboard was more just vamps and accompaniment bits, but it was so much fun and we love singing together. It's great. […] It's a lot of trad, folk group, Scottish kind of things. Singing we'll do all sorts of different things; country, Scottish, kind of more popular kind of stuff. ('Heather', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

While aural arrangement and self-management might be valued in the broader musical field, there is little formal legitimacy attached to these skills within the JCoM. She was required to learn the Conservatoire's different legitimised practices *in situ*, and struggled to perform in a conservatoire context. How Heather's informal habitus related to the western classical field she was now negotiating reflected to some degree Gregor's crossing of the conventions of the Scottish traditional and western classical fields, but Heather had to negotiate the field without Gregor's fluency in formalised western classical languages. She showed a predisposition towards the few Scottish traditional ensembles and classes she took at the JCoM.

> I think orchestra is much more formal compared to trad. Trad is very informal […] and there's very few of us, we can all hear each other, we're all like, *together*. ('Heather', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Heather frequently spoke in emotive terms, and it was clear that music was a central pillar of her life around which other things had been constructed. Her initial transition into the Conservatoire was smooth, experiencing little differentiation with other students.

> We don't walk around and all go 'I'm in Transitions 20/40', we don't all go around talking about it. Not that it's anything to be embarrassed

> about or anything like that, that's not the case, but it's just like we're all together and there's no distinctions.
> ('Heather', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

However, her social identity was relationally bound to her musical identity, and subsequent reformulations in her musical trajectory caused her to question whether she belonged at the Conservatoire.

Big Fish/Small Pond

> At school everyone kind of knows me for music and they're kind of like '[Heather]' can do this, '[Heather]' can do that' and in music stuff in school, I was always doing a lot of stuff in concerts and that kind of thing, and then when you come here it's a completely different ball game. I think, because there's loads of people that are really good and there's a high standard and it's a completely different way of teaching and things like that and I think I was starting to question, at school everyone was like 'Oh you're really good' and then after coming here and having *that conversation* and realising that I was behind from where I would need to be in order to do music. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Heather was only a few weeks into Transitions 20/40 at her first interview, and relatively unfazed by the JCoM. At later interviews she outlined *'that conversation'* with her conservatoire instrumental teacher, which had caused her perception of herself within the field to be markedly adjusted.

> You've got so much technique and so much stuff to think about at the same time, it does take longer to get through pieces, and it is definitely different in that way, whereas my old [instrumental] teacher would play though stuff together and that and this is different. […] it's quite difficult just to get into that kind of way of thinking. […] My confidence dropped a lot kind of October to November, last year, and I think I'm just trying to build that up again at the moment. ('Heather', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

'*That conversation'* happened shortly after our first interview, when Heather was still relatively new to the JCoM, and candidly detailed her unpreparedness for the Conservatoire's degree pathway. Heather was instructed to focus on detailed aspects of her technique that she had never

considered before, and located her much more on the periphery than she had perceived herself to be.

> I was quite miserable for a bit […] I've had to go back to the start because there's a certain way [I hold my instrument] and different things like that, and it has been right back to the start. […] we're still doing technique just now, so there is a level of patience that I've had to have. ('Heather', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

This approach, particularly in a widening access context, devalued her existing informal musical experience and demanded a one-directional habitus reformulation: Heather was expected to conform to the Conservatoire's habitus, rather than the Conservatoire conforming to hers. Heather's considerable prior investment of time and labour in her musical development, and her wide range of skills, could perhaps have been built upon within the structures of the JCoM; instead Heather's tutor emphasised that classical training and skills needed to be accrued long before undergraduate transition to participate in the 'cult of precision' (Rusbridger, 2013; Renshaw, 2013).

> She talked to me during my lesson, she was saying how she didn't want to continue and not be prepared for it, she was like to be prepared for a BMus course you kind of need to be at this level and you're not there. That was kind of the general jist, and I think that was fine it was just more hard from me to hear, and I think I'd been thinking about it for a while because I was so frustrated with not moving on. […] It was quite blunt. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

When Heather realised how unlikely it was that she would achieve the technical skills required for the tertiary conservatoire, she abandoned instrumental study. However, there were other potential pathways for multi-instrumentalist singers, which were not classical or performance orientated.

> I'd never been classically trained before, obviously, and going in and because I was taken back so I could sort all my technique and sort everything, and I was finding that really hard to move forward and I talked to obviously the Transitions 20/40 tutors and stuff, I was talking to my tutor and explained that I wanted to move on with my exams because I really think that I want to do music, but then I had *that conversation* with my teacher and obviously received a copy of the notes from the meeting and then, I think it was her saying that 'Oh, you

> need to be exceptional to get in' and she was talking like 'What other subjects are you good at?' and it kind of gave me an insight. I was like 'Maybe I'm not going to get there' and my confidence took a real knock there. *Obviously I'm fine* now. *Obviously it's fine,* but my confidence did take a knock and I knew I wasn't anywhere near where I need to be, and I think [my other instrument] has come on quite a lot and I've kind of moved forward with that, but I think last time I met you it was something I was really, really struggling with, and I think it was maybe after that that my confidence completely dropped and it was starting to affect other stuff as well, like, even like school stuff and I was thinking application-wise that I didn't know what I was going to do and I was really kind of worried about it. But as I said, I'm quite happy now with where I am and stuff, and nothing against my [Instrumental] teacher obviously because we got on well, and she was lovely, and anything that I needed she said still to come and see her and things like that, which is great, but […] I was kind of struggling with it, so I did freak for a while. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

'That conversation' altered Heather's perception of her place in the field, and caused her to question why she was regarded as an accomplished musician outwith the Conservatoire, but found it so hard to gain legitimisation in the Conservatoire. She perceived a larger structural problem in the way music education in Scotland was constructed.

> I mean your Advanced Higher is Grade 5, and then that's obviously with a place like here, you wouldn't get in on Grade 5, and I think as well it's the fact that there's a lot against instrumental teachers and stuff at the moment and I think you do need that one-to-one kind of lessons and approach if you're wanting to, unless you've got private lessons obviously to get to somewhere like this. […] It can be more difficult with music to get into universities, to get into somewhere like here, because it's not just grade requirements which is what most people are looking for, and they need to focus on their academic side of it, you've got your academic, plus all your music grades or sometimes obviously you've got your theories and stuff like that, so there's a whole load of extra work that needs to be done for music. I don't think some people realise that. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Heather challenged the visibility and connectedness of musical pathways in Scotland. To her, this situation keeps the true extent of the commitment and standard required for a conservatoire education ambiguous, reproducing inequalities by excluding those not already native to the field. The shortfall in what comprehensive secondary schools could provide has to be made up

somehow. Heather used informal musical activity to do this, but the conservatoire field requires extensive private tuition (Lebler, Burt-Mills and Carey, 2009), and a particular habitus formulation, readily equipped with comprehension and mastery of formal codification. Heather had a supportive and musically vibrant home environment that nurtured her love of music, but her lack of formally legitimised presage learning, or knowledge of more diverse professional pathways, meant she had to reassess her options when she was already far down the path of becoming a musician: the Conservatoire seemed to have no place for somebody with her background and skill set.

> I think I've kinda come to the point where I'm saying if I'm going to go to university, I'm looking at more of the academic side, and if there was a kind of instrumental aspect I would probably be leaning more towards [my other instrument]. ('Heather', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Heather's final year was used to explore non-performance careers in music, with conservatoire education now both unlikely and undesirable to her. At the end of fieldwork, Heather was still performing outwith the Conservatoire, returning to modes of performance which fitted her habitus.

> What I've kind of learned from the first couple of years at the RCS when I was just doing classical [..] you can get, not in a rut, but […] and different types of music, it's kind of like a wee escape. Go to that, and it's not like you're getting fed up with anything, which is my kind of worry if I was constantly doing music, because it has always been, before I came here, it had always been an escape. […] I enjoy it a lot more because I've got the different options.
> ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

The informal musical learning that Heather experienced had been universally positive, unlike her experiences of formal specialisation. It was important for Heather to rediscover this sense of play and enjoyment in musical activity, and part of this exploration involved her de-prioritisation of formal instrumental study.

> This year I switched to first study [in a new instrument] and second study composition […] and now I think this year I'm enjoying it so much more because I've got to do the composition as well which I didn't get to do before, but I think in terms of like genre and stuff, you see, there's

> big band and stuff, but I think it's more separated. I don't think it's as… I don't know how to explain it…inclusive.
> ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Her focus on Transitions 20/40 was finally moved to composition in her final year, which afforded expression through open forms of music (Allsup, 2016) in a way that worked with, rather than against, her musical habitus.

> I feel like I've really come into my own more this year getting to do [my other instrument] and composition and getting to explore that, and that more creative side […] I've enjoyed it so much more than the first 2 years which I did enjoy, but I think this year […] I got to kind of tailor this year a bit more towards my individual kind of interest, it's been really kind of rewarding for me and I've benefitted a lot more from it. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Conceptualisation of the Profession

Heather's career focus inevitably altered throughout this. She had always known she did not want to be a teacher.

> My mum's a teacher and I've seen the amount of work she has to do. It's a lot. […] Well I'm not doing the BEd and I'm not doing the BMus course, so I don't want to do anything that's solely on performing or a classroom teacher or anything, but I am interested in working with people, and I like the look of, you have these centres where it's like not just music therapy, but with beginners and you get people started and more, not so much as, I don't know how to explain this, like getting people involved in music and that kind of thing. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Heather now looked towards the facilitation of music education in community and participatory contexts. She was particularly vocal about structural exclusion in music education at her final interview, and illustrated how the cultural capital that some participants built upon through their social networks and omnivorous musical learning was not available through mainstream education alone. Heather suggested that the education system should work for more people who want to pursue music in a variety of contexts.

> You could introduce kind of the importance of music from an earlier age and make people aware of these opportunities from that age if they want to do this, you kind of need to start now, or this is the way to go,

> or yeah, I think definitely getting away from the stigma that you've got to do your academic subjects, and music is a side, because I know that you need to, there's a lot of work that goes into music from an earlier age, not just SQA exams. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

She was surprised by the breadth of options for studying music in broader HE outwith the conservatoire, and knowledge of these helped her to grow away from the 'teaching or performance' dichotomy that seemed to govern conservatoire pedagogy and programmes, and so many participants' career expectations. Heather received several unconditional offers from universities.

> I received an unconditional to do music at [an ancient university], to do a Masters[23] […], so I've accepted that. […] I liked the fact it was more generalised and then in your 3rd and 4th year you can tailor it to suit yourself so I liked the flexibility of the course, the fact that it wasn't just going into this course to do just the one aspect of music, and I did have that kind of option. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

The broader university music degree afforded Heather time to explore new trajectories into fields that valued her prior experience, artistic habitus and accrued capitals, seeing music therapy and academic research as possible avenues.

> I've looked at kinda music therapy and working with people in music, and even doing more of the research kind of area, which I find really interesting. […] It has opened my eyes to the opportunities of music, and what that has to offer. ('Heather', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Heather's case questions what the Conservatoire can achieve in widening access to its undergraduate programmes within the confines of its existing 'Juniors' framework. Transitions 20/40's intervention was often too late for musicians without clearly defined goals beyond teaching or performance from a relatively young age, and throughout the sample, it is evident that those who developed clear goals already benefitted from experienced mentors and role models to orientate them, and that these mentors and role models typically came from outside mainstream education. This implied that mainstream

[23] In reference to an MA available at an ancient Scottish university, taken at undergraduate level as opposed to postgraduate level in other countries.

education was not, in itself, offering the insights that participants might need to support them; or, that the Conservatoire had not made its expectations and requirements explicit. To truly widen access, perhaps the Conservatoire needs to understand how alien this hidden part of field-specific knowledge is, and provide more open or flexible pathways for participants. The final case study of this chapter illustrates how this flexibility can be enacted in practice, ending the chapter on an optimistic note by demonstrating a conservatoire transition for a participant on an unconventional trajectory.

5.5 The case of 'Sandra'

> I'm not a solo performer, I prefer staying behind the scenes and composing the pieces ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra was recruited in the final year of fieldwork and did a single year of Transitions 20/40 on a 'Juniors' composition pathway that was unavailable to Heather.

> When I was fifteen and in 5th year and when I went for the interview, and basically the two interviewers were looking at me thinking this girl is off her head, she's absolutely mental, fifteen years old applying, and I'd like to think that they saw some potential somewhere within me. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra was autonomous from a young age and came to Transitions 20/40 after unsuccessfully auditioning for the Conservatoire's composition degree at the age of 15. Her audition panel suggested using Transitions 20/40 as a way of preparing for re-application, and she became the initiative's first composition specialist. She followed the traditional pathway of attending JCoM classes on a Saturday but also used her funded hours to participate in numerous summer schools and short courses to build her composition portfolio. This preparation was tailored to broaden her compositional vocabulary by challenging Sandra to write for instruments she had never written for before.

> When I got accepted into Transitions I met with my composition teacher and she said we're taking you away from the piano, you're not allowed to write for it. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra quickly developed a strong mentor relationship with her composition tutor, who pushed her in new directions, like writing for chamber groups and percussion. She also had timetabled ensemble work at the JCoM and continued to learn other instruments to improve her compositional knowledge. During this year, Sandra continued school, studying voice and a wind instrument for Higher Music. Sandra had never expected to be successful in her first Conservatoire application and had used the process to gain experience and receive feedback from leading tutors in her field.

> I wouldn't have been ready for it. I mean that's one thing they said to me in the interview, that you're not ready for a life completely dedicated to music and it's true, like I wasn't. I probably would have, I think suffocated is quite a strong word but under the pressure of it all, that's probably what would have happened. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra's extraordinarily headstrong approach ran completely counter to conventional wisdom in regards to her home environment and her inherited cultural capital.

> My mum and dad aren't musical at all so they always say they don't know where I got it from. I think I just had a love for it somewhere along the way, and I just picked it up and it just sort of developed into this monster in our house and it's just always there now. Like, I'm just playing all the time and they're like 'Will you turn it off?' and I'm like 'No, I will not turn it off. This is my music I will play it' [laughs] ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Although not immersed in musical activity at home, Sandra found a way towards the profession using the smallest of opportunities available to her.

> [I learned] informally. I played piano at my gran's house and then my mum decided to put me and my sister in for keyboard lessons and then within that I then picked up playing [a wind instrument] at primary five and then I've carried that on and I still get lessons in my school today. Then I finally went on to do actual piano lessons. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Through self-directed, informal learning she developed musical instincts and an ability to create musical shapes and patterns on the piano. The absence of formal training liberated Sandra from an exclusive concern with mastering technique —a contrast with Heather, who had been strongly guided to make technical surety the focus of her work. Sandra was afforded freedom to use her imagination: to sit at the piano and build a vocabulary of noises and patterns in the notes she was playing, facilitated by her knowledge of harmony drawn from the comprehensive formal education she had received.

> At that point I loved sitting at the piano and bashing out my own chord progressions and doing stuff like that. And I think when I went into high school and we started composing and writing melodies for instruments and adding chords and that stuff, and then I realised I really enjoyed it without words and without lyrics and then by third year I realized that was definitely what I wanted to do because I loved it so much. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

This autonomous immersion engendered a securely situated experience in her eventual conservatoire field without the need for a comprehensive habitus reformulation. Sandra still participated in school ensembles and was independently curious about other instruments as a way of increasing her compositional understanding.

> It's just a case of me looking at an instrument and saying I want to get lessons in that. It's just I've always liked the challenge of trying new instruments and my friend is like 'Want to try my violin?' […] I enjoy learning about the instruments as well and as a composer trying to understand how they work and what you can do with them and what their limitations are because it's really intriguing. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

The only other resource Sandra required was open access notation software called 'Musescore', which eliminated the economic barriers other participants from SIMD 20/40 areas experienced in developing musically before the Conservatoire's intervention. Although not overtly discussed in this thesis, economic exclusion was still enacted in some, if not all participants, especially

in accessing instruments, materials and performances. Transitions 20/40 effectively worked to counter this disparity through providing these additional economic resources for students, but again, this frequently was too late for junior conservatoire participation, by which point the gap was already visible.

Big Fish/Small Pond

Sandra spoke about her initial Conservatoire audition experience and how young she felt in comparison to everybody else auditioning for the composition degree.

> I was intimidated, I'll admit that because everyone was walking about and the guy who came out of the interview before me was so much older than me. Like, he was probably twice my age, like early thirties possibly, and I was sitting there thinking I'm 15. At the time I was quite young and immature and I wasn't ready, I'll admit that, but it was intimidating coming here and seeing how good everyone else was, but if anything, that pushed me more because I was like 'I want to be one of these people, I want to study here'. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra was cognizant of the peculiarity of a 15-year-old auditioning for a degree among people who were more than double her age, but she valued the opportunity to at least see what the Conservatoire looked like. This autonomous curiosity fitted well with her JCoM composition teacher's approach, which was more flexible and open than Heather's instrumental teacher.

> She's really good because she doesn't tell me what to do and she doesn't say to me 'Oh that sounds awful you shouldn't do that' sometimes she asks me why I do things, like why are you using that chord or that harmony, and it's sometimes quite difficult because I thought it sounded nice, you know? You don't always have a reason for doing things. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Being granted artistic autonomy validated decisions she made when composing, flattened the master-apprentice hierarchy evident in most conservatoire learning (Carey et al., 2013), and indirectly attributed value to her own habitus; in this respect her experience contrasted starkly with those of Heather, Bernie and Simon as instrumentalists. They seemed to be

required to adhere to the conventions and traditions of their instruments in the conservatoire field, which demands years of training and discourages deviation. The field of composition seemed to value the originality and multiplicity gained from diverse life experiences and therefore positions itself to accept candidates with more diverse cultural and educational backgrounds. Sandra's habitus was consonant with the very specific institutional sub-field she inhabited at the JCoM, and everything up to the point of her undergraduate re-audition contributed to her legitimisation. The composition field was responsive and open to her prior experience and placed value upon the capitals she brought. It was of little surprise that by the point of undergraduate audition she understood the doxa of the field and had moved to an effortless place of alignment with the institutional habitus.

> It was really good. It was quite informal actually because we knew each other from last year and I did a summer school last year and I worked with them then and that refreshed their memory of who I was. It was actually quite comfortable I would go as far to say. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Sandra's bespoke learning pathway in Transitions 20/40, which worked with her disposition towards open and autonomous learning, allowed her to take up a very strong position within the field before re-auditioning. Both the composition department and Sandra were aware of each other's strengths, weaknesses and dispositions, and she became a fully legitimised participant in the field even before the second audition, as a result of Transitions 20/40.

Conceptions of the Profession

Composers frequently require the institutionalised cultural capital provided by a qualification, scholarship or award to achieve legitimacy in the field. To an extent, Sandra's participation in Transitions 20/40 was the determinant factor in her legitimisation with composition contemporaries, and also, through the symbolic capital it engendered in her immediate social and familial backgrounds. Being taught and mentored by leading composers meant she

did not have to labour for social capital or to conceptualise the profession beyond her existing horizons.

> I know I want to be a composer but I don't know what aspect. I know there's lots you can go into like, I've kind of just thought I'm not going to plan too far ahead, I'm going to see how I get on here first and then within that see what I enjoy doing, because I don't get a lot of opportunities to write music for films or for Plug, things like that, I'd enjoy doing that, but I'm going to see where that takes me first. I don't have any ambition to be a teacher but we'll see. ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Like Gregor, Sandra knew she wanted to be a musician, but thanks to situated experience of autonomous practice and the advice of mentors, she understood the likely reality was that she would be working towards a diverse portfolio career, rather than alighting on a specific job. Again, this was a problematic concept for parents and teachers, who struggled with the intangible nature of this kind of symbolic capital investment and habitus reformulation, which became the largest asset in a freelance career as a practising musician.

> I just ignored everyone else completely [laughs] because my teachers told me I shouldn't apply, my mum and dad at the time didn't want me to do music, they said that I wouldn't have a career within it. […] I think it actually panics them thinking 'Composition! I don't know any composers! I don't know where she could go with this!' but I just had to say I want to do what I love and I love music, and it's always been that for me so I'm just going to go and do it. When people were telling me 'no' if anything it just made me want to do it more.
> ('Sandra', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Conclusion

This chapter took an in-depth look at cases of conservatoire continuation, non-continuation or involuntary de-selection, covering five out of the eight music participants that were no longer on Transitions 20/40 at the end of the fieldwork. Delivered within the JCoM, Transitions 20/40 did not completely open up the music profession, or the conservatoire field for all these participants, and significantly, no SIMD 20 music participants in the study

continued into conservatoire degrees. The complex social and habitual qualities that were found in the successful conservatoire transitions are amorphous and hard to quantify: They were either legitimate participants in the field prior to Transitions 20/40, or had arisen as a result of a degree of institutional habitus reformulation towards more open forms of musical expression. Students that continued into conservatoires had an extended view of their professions and the structures that surround them, gained through immersion, mentors or role models, and a fluency and flexibility within the field.

Gregor was an example of the omnivorous learning habitus that became a reliable indication of a future conservatoire transition. Continuing students' participation at the Conservatoire was generally part of a larger basket of opportunities that had been available to them long before Transitions 20/40 and existed beyond the walls of the RCS. Bernie and Heather transitioned into university because they were unable to socially locate themselves within the Conservatoire's undergraduate programmes or had not received the type of prior learning that leads into tertiary conservatoires. However, they did transition into university programmes that connected better with their diverse prior learning, but it is beyond the limits of this study to ascertain whether they were 'a fish in water' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in university learning cultures. Feeling like a 'fish out of water' (Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009) in the Conservatoire, Simon chose to withdraw from Transitions 20/40 for two reasons: social alienation and situated vocational inexperience. He lacked the institutionalised capital, in the shape of formal qualifications, to pursue the Conservatoire's teaching pathway, or the economic capital to support the perceived instability of a performance career. As a counter, Sandra showed the possibilities of offering flexible trajectories and open musical practices (Allsup, 2015) within the JCoM, as she was able to build on the strengths of her habitus and prior experience in an institutional sub-field that valued creative expression and autonomy over virtuosity.

Perhaps, rather than being an answer to all the Conservatoire's access issues, Transitions 20/40 was best viewed as a catalyst for continuation on existing pathways within music for those who had already legitimised themselves within the field. Participants who continued in the conservatoire field had already decided to be autonomous musicians or artists before Transitions 20/40, because they knew this was a possibility. This was an amorphous goal, and one that required a nuanced conceptualisation of the professional field from a young age. The participants that did not continue in the Conservatoire relied on the institution to guide them, suggesting that the institution works best for those who already display its own legitimised and reproductive habitus. They exhibit a comfort with the unpredictable nature of portfolio careers and a confidence in their ability to create their own work by investing time and energy in themselves and their creative practice. Gregor and Sandra knew, not necessarily what they wanted to do, but of at least who they wanted to be. Successful conservatoire transitions were associated with those who could see beyond the degree and conceptualise themselves as artists. As was often the case, Gregor put it best.

> I think this is, not just with the classical degree, but with all degrees, too many people, most people are going into degrees with the aim of getting a degree, and I don't think nearly enough people go into a degree to train their skills and learn what it is that they're going to learn. I think the current system focuses you on getting exams so you can get a degree, so you can get a job so it's just a step on the way of achieving a sort of vague idea of success for a lot of people, but for me it literally is that I'm just coming here to get better at what I do so I can get more enjoyment from it in order to get through it. ('Gregor', 4th Interview, Aged 17)

Participants that remained in the conservatoire field after the intervention spoke of this personal investment. They had a sociological understanding of the creation of artistic work (Becker, 1982), the authority of the person making the work, and what structural elements were required for creative work to happen. The understanding of the field's possibilities for them as individuals, based on the capitals they possessed and the predispositions of their habitus, was essential. If the JCoM is to move beyond widening access to the

Conservatoire's existing programmes, and work to widen access to the music profession in general, this sample suggests that immersion in and with the music profession must happen earlier, a broader range of social backgrounds must be seen in the conservatoire building, and the undergraduate courses and subsequent pre-tertiary programmes that feed into them must be broadened. If there was an academic music course, a music therapy course or a sound production course, then perhaps Simon, Heather and Bernie would also be in Conservatoire undergraduate programmes. This disciplinary evolution is in the institution's direct control and having a more open, less prescriptive approach to pre-tertiary and tertiary music provision could contribute towards the increased presence of other cultures, backgrounds and creative practices, and broaden the conceivable possibilities for all students looking in.

6. Drama

‘Pay to Win’

> I don’t think people understand what we do. I mean I think it’s difficult in a lot of ways. It’s difficult because less than 1% of actors are ever in work. They brought out the stats about graduates a while ago and I think there was 85% plus didn’t make their main income through acting, but other than that it’s long, long days and it’s gruelling and it’s emotional and devastating sometimes, and it’s a lot of work that you have to do on your own and going to rehearsal as well, and people just think, and I think it’s probably the word ‘act’, it has connotations I suppose, but I don’t think people understand the extent of what we do and they think it’s just easy and everyone can act and everyone does that every day. (‘Johnny’, 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

The previous chapter discussed music participants’ experiences in the JCoM, and this chapter takes a slightly more abbreviated approach to framing drama participant experiences in the JCoD and short courses as part of Transitions 20/40, by viewing grouped cases of transition in parallel, rather than on a full case by case basis. Like music, drama participants enacted varying degrees of habitus reformulation upon entering the Conservatoire, based on the extent and nature of their field-specific prior experience. In music, some participants had informal and open experiences while some had more formal immersive learning experiences that facilitated comprehension of even the most codified of conservatoire practices. Paradoxically, it was those with a rounded meta-literacy in diverse musical sub-fields who were predisposed towards continued conservatoire participation, despite the conservatoire’s tendency to privilege narrow disciplinary specialism. Similar trends are now seen in drama, where participants who draw from diverse cultural influences and practices are seen to excel in the conservatoire. This is perhaps unsurprising, given drama education’s long held discourse of student agency and creativity, as well as the art form’s capacity to affect social change, which is frequently prioritised in its teaching (O’Toole, 2002; O’Grady, 2018). Like music, drama participants who develop a robust conceptual approach to their artistic practice and a non-vocational, open and flexible habitus become legitimised

within the conservatoire field. However, the broader drama field differs from music in the lack of opportunities to access formal education (Barlow, 2013; Broad and Duffy, 2005; O'Toole, 2002) and admissions to conservatoire degrees reflect this by being rhetorically less concerned with the applicant's possession of institutionalised cultural capital in the shape of formal qualifications. Regardless, this chapter suggests there is still a dominant institutional habitus that favours participants with inherited cultural capital and an omnivorous practice that is not available to or sustainable for all participants in a widening access context. Participant cases demonstrate how this institutional habitus works against students who come from traditional working-class backgrounds and other minority groups.

6.1.1 Drama destinations

The outcomes of the randomly selected drama participants (n=10) recruited over the four years of fieldwork were harder to categorise than those of the music students, as Figure 12 shows.

Destination at end of Fieldwork: Drama				
Conservatoire	**University**	**College (HNC/HND)**	**College and T20/40**	**Still on T20/40**
Johnny (SIMD 40)	Fi (SIMD 40)	Rizzo (SIMD 20)	Tanya (SIMD 20)[24]	Maggie (SIMD 40)
Maureen (SIMD 40)	Katie (SIMD 40)		Jen (SIMD 20)[25]	Demi (SIMD 20)
	Angela (SIMD 20)[26]			

Fig. 12. Drama participant destinations.

[24] Tanya was already studying in college before T20/40 and continued after fieldwork, eventually withdrawing from T20/40 following reduced engagement.
[25] Jen's Transitions status was unclear, but she believed she was still on the programme.
[26] Angela did not meet for final interview. Destination was known through T20//40 student progression monitoring.

Two (n=2) participants transitioned into the Conservatoire's notoriously competitive undergraduate programmes, and four (n=4) transitioned into university or college after leaving Transitions 20/40. However, some (n=2) of these participants were already attending college in parallel with Transitions 20/40 before they left the programme. Four (n=4) participants were still on Transitions 20/40 at the end of the fieldwork, half of whom (n=2) were simultaneously attending college. Drama is the only artistic discipline where no participants withdrew from Transitions 20/40, although interview data reveals that both the cohort and the broader drama field normalised a cycle of audition and re-audition caused by a perceived learning hierarchy, which perpetuated a trend of attrition from conservatoire learning over a period of years that has not been quantifiably categorised as a withdrawal. The participant interviews reveal how symbolically valued conservatoire degrees were for participants, with university drama courses being perceived as 'too academic' within the field, resulting in HNC/HND college courses being the more common destination for SIMD 20 participants, whilst all conservatoire transitions, again, came from SIMD 40 backgrounds. Johnny and Maureen provide cases of conservatoire transition who are rich in inherited cultural capital, which lead into a broader analysis of the more peripheral drama participants engaged in the cyclical process of audition and re-audition that emerges as an accepted condition of the field. Peripheral cases show that continued participation requires continual symbolic and material investment, and the growing expectations and realities of adult life govern when participants chose to eliminate themselves from this cycle. Johnny and Maureen are positioned as field insiders and early achievers.

6.1.2 Johnny and Maureen: Early returns

> So, my mum's a, she did [a science degree] at [an ancient university] and now she's like [a qualified professional] at [a health service provider]. My dad's a [humanities] teacher at [a Scottish ancient university], he went to [an English ancient university], my brother is doing pure maths and stats at [a university] and my grandpa was a banker and yeah, all the way back it's been… and my uncle is a sports scientist and that's probably the closest you can get to the arts with the sports part of that. But my family is, they're artsy as well, they like film and I never had a TV until I was like 12, so I read a lot and I was influenced by all the music my parents listened to in the house, and it was like good music. It was like stuff that just made me think from a young age when everyone else was just listening to the charts, and I would constantly read. […] We used to go to the theatre as well when I was younger. My family are artsy, but they just have logical brains. ('Johnny', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Johnny successfully auditioned for the undergraduate Conservatoire at his first attempt after a year on Transitions 20/40. He exuded a comfort and familiarity within the academic field and was critical, literate and culturally omnivorous, engaging with literature, music, film and theatre beyond superficial enjoyment (Bourdieu, 1984). Having been on the undergraduate programme for a year at the point of his final interview, Johnny recognised how his progressive, academic background predisposed him towards the Conservatoire acting field.

> I think it helps me to like think for myself and have opinions, which is massive. I was constantly encouraged on this course to have your own opinions and they want you, there are people here that want to make a change through theatre. They want to say something and I think that constantly philosophising and stuff with my dad, and always being caught out by my mum because she knows what I'm thinking and reading books constantly and falling asleep to like rock and roll music, it just made me very opinionated I think and probably influenced a lot of my political opinions and stuff as well, which I had from a young age as well. You know, I was a little anarchist when I was like 12, but I think definitely letting you think for yourself and having opinions about the world from such a young age, I think that's influenced a lot of what I do now. ('Johnny', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Maureen was also from an academically rich background with inherited cultural capital and a habitus that predisposed her towards scholastic achievement in an institutionalised academic context.

> My mum and dad both [went to university], but I'm the oldest sibling, so […] my brother is 17, yeah, and he got into [a specialist theatre school] to do [drama] but decided against it, said he didn't want to go. […] He did Juniors [JCoM] as well, but he's going to do like pharmacy or something he said. So, he's taking a completely different… he's doing the academic thing for my mum […] My dad did some sort of social work type thing, but he also went to […] college [overseas], and then my mum's done hunners of nursing stuff, a nursing degree and all that sort of stuff. ('Maureen', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Maureen successfully auditioned for the Conservatoire at the second attempt after 2 years on Transitions 20/40. She was a Grade 8 singer, played an instrument in a band and had extensive experience in local and regional theatre productions. She was not the first in her family to attend the pre-tertiary Conservatoire, but she was the first to pursue tertiary study in the arts, largely because her family prioritised institutionalised cultural capital over symbolic cultural capital. Maureen particularly contended with parental resistance towards her decision to undertake an HNC in parallel with her second year on Transitions 20/40 to develop her practice, rather than starting an academic trajectory that she had no intention of pursuing.

6.1.3 Maureen: College distinction

> My mum didn't want me to go to college. Because she's all for me coming here and doing a [drama] course at a university, but it was just the word college scared her off, she wanted me to go to university, so I was going to just, I was planning on doing the MA for a year then trying to get into here, but then actually it was my Grade 8 classical singing teacher that convinced my mum to go to [a local college] and do [drama], like a practical course. I mean I would like to do music, I wouldn't have minded it, but it's just not really what I want. ('Maureen', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Maureen required her college attendance to be legitimised by her singing teacher, as her parents lacked appreciation of the field's priorities, and perceived university to be more symbolically prestigious than college.

> [My mum] just didn't want me to waste like all the academic stuff I had been doing. I think it was more that she didn't want me going, because [a local] college, there is all of us [drama] people, but then everybody else in the building is there for their NPA[27] in Business and random stuff like that, like it's not very prestigious college in general and I think she just, she liked the idea of me walking around [an ancient] Uni with a scarf on sort of thing, do you know what I mean? She just wanted me to be one of those academic people. We went to the open day and she was loving it […] but I don't think she realised that the [local] College, the [drama] course, although it is [a local] College, it is a great course, and the training you get is fantastic. Like our course tutors are wonderful. The only thing that holds them back compared to somewhere like this is the class sizes and the hours, because obviously they're under the SQA, they're not allowed to give us more than they're contracted to. ('Maureen', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

This conflict demonstrates an academic hierarchy that was commonly reinforced when participants had excelled academically in school, or who were from families with prior generations of university attendance. Academically inclined participants frequently faced parental resistance towards following vocational college training over academic university courses, regardless of the high esteem in which some college courses appeared to be held within the conservatoire acting field.

6.1.4 Johnny: Pay to win

Johnny articulated the structural advantages and disadvantages he experienced in his upbringing. He spoke of his parents' separation, and how it resulted in reduced economic capital, but the symbolic and cultural resources inherited from both his parents gave him a cultural literacy that was invaluable. In broader terms, he saw institutionally enacted marginalisation of the arts in secondary education, the cost of drama education outwith school, and a cultural shift away from live theatre attendance as determinant barriers towards the acting profession.

> I think if I wasn't so sure of what I wanted to do early, because I mean most of my friends didn't figure out what they wanted to do until they

[27] National Progression Award. See Appendix 5.

> were like sort of 17, some even later, some still don't know, and I figured it out when I was really young, but I think someone that had that drive and really wanted to do acting and came out of school aged 16 and then their guidance teacher or their careers advisor said 'That's not feasible, that's not realistic, pick a different career' and they did, and that's, I think that's a massive barrier. Stuff like confidence as well. Like there's not a lot of opportunities, and I mean I think it's a horrible thing to say but it's pay to win to be honest a lot of the time. Like I wouldn't have been able to pay for Juniors and then a lot of people would be, like there's all these workshops out there that are like £100 an hour and stuff with, you know, a famous person and I think money is a massive barrier as well. And, yeah, I think it's not as acceptable to younger people either, I mean, [laughs] when I used to go to the theatre people used to be like 'Why are you going to the theatre? That's boring.' I mean who wants to sit and watch that when you can watch TV? Stuff like that. ('Johnny', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Theatre attendance in Scotland has been consistently low among 16-24 year olds (Creative Scotland, 2014), and had recently dipped below any other age group (National Statistics, 2018). Johnny's predisposition to counter these trends was informed by his domestic habitus, but despite the symbolic inheritance he received, the prohibitive costs of pre-tertiary drama tuition had excluded him from the Conservatoire before Transitions 20/40.

6.1.5 Johnny and Maureen: Career expectations

The conventions of the acting field often contrast with the dispositions and priorities of academically inclined middle-class parents. Johnny expected that he would experience prolonged periods of unemployment as much as gainful employment. This convention of the field creates a distinction between those who are concerned about sustaining themselves financially and those who are not. Johnny came from a domestic background that accepted this condition.

> At the moment I have to work other jobs and I like to be optimistic, but I mean it's probably, I'm going to have good years and bad years and good months and bad months, and I might even, if I'm really lucky, like this would be ideal, I wouldn't complain if all I had to do was act and I don't want to be rich, I don't care about money. If I had like a, if I got to perform in Scottish theatre and I had enough money to pay my rent and eat and live comfortably then I'd be totally happy, but yeah, I think there are going to be a lot of times when I'm going to have to look for

> money elsewhere. […] Mine are totally fine with me being an out of work actor, you know? ('Johnny', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Maureen's parents were less willing for her to be *'an out of work actor'* and had difficulty reconciling this convention of the acting field with their aspirations for their daughter. Maureen still received substantial parental support through privately funded music tuition and (paid) attendance at numerous local drama clubs. These were still economically accessible in comparison to the cost of the JCoD, and Maureen believed she also would have been left at the periphery had it not been for her Transitions 20/40 funding.

> [The funding was] huge, yeah. I don't think I would have been able to fund coming here. Especially not on top of [another theatre school], because it's about the same price I think, so I would have had to choose, like my friend […] she's doing Juniors this year, and obviously paying for it, but she had to leave theatre school because it was just too much to do both, so yeah, I wouldn't have been able to do both if it hadn't been for it […] I feel like before I thought studying at…. being here was… I saw it as this really unattainable thing just away in the future, whereas now […] I think it just took me realising that I could actually do it, sort of thing. ('Maureen', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Johnny and Maureen recognised barriers actors face towards the profession, and both described the realities and conventions of actor training that threatened their participation. Despite this, Johnny and Maureen's transitions into the Conservatoire were easier in comparison to other participants. Both of these SIMD 40 participants had traditional middle-class upbringings with the symbolic and institutionalised cultural capitals this brought, and some of the other participants who were yet to successfully transition into the conservatoire field faced far more significant obstacles. Outside of Johnny and Maureen's expedited pathways to the conservatoire lay more peripheral stories of uncertainty and structural exclusion caused by economics, power, class and race. Three cases are presented in quick succession.

6.2 College Transitions 'Rizzo' and 'Tanya'

Rizzo and Tanya both came from SIMD 20 backgrounds and raise less esoteric issues of class and race as reasons for their exclusion within the acting field. Their dissonance with conservatoire culture is clearer because they contended with greater barriers outwith the Conservatoire. Both exuded pride in their backgrounds and related their habitus and trajectories to grander narratives within their art-form by raising themes of authenticity and under-representation of diverse groups.

6.2.1 Rizzo and Class: 'I didn't think it would ever work'

> I call it my 'drama wean' side. I've got that. It's 'cause I come frae [an industrial town]. My mum's from [a housing development], My dad's from [an industrial town], like I've got that slang 'I come from [an industrial town] side' and then I've got the [posh voice] 'I love drama' side. I mean I would go in there at ten and they're all jumping bout the walls and I'm absolutely shattered having worked in the [local leisure centre] until ten last night, and I actually just want tae sleep.
> ('Rizzo', 1st interview, Aged 16)

Rizzo harboured a contempt for some of her JCoD contemporaries and, in particular, ruminated on notions of privilege and authenticity. Moving far from the interview schedule she perceived many of her contemporaries at the JCoD to be privileged, spoiled and lacking any real-life experience or adversity, and believed this had repercussions on their ability to convey real life emotions.

> How are you meant to act if you've not seen things? It doesn't just come. Like if you're in a scene and you need to cry about, say your character's mum has just died through something really bad, you can't just conjure up the feelings. You need to have authentic people who can recall a time when you felt upset and like rich people, they might have seen a lot, but mummy and daddy will pay to make sure you don't see that again, it's not the same. If you've not been through a lot in life then you don't get that real emotional raw amazing talent that a lot of people have. And if you're just rich and you just paid for a lot of theatre classes then might be good with all the technique, but even if you're not good enough for all the awards as long as you're up on stage and you give a good enough performance, with all that recall and raw talent, then, you might have the technique, but you don't have the

> actual… experience. You don't have experience… that's the word aye. It's a lot about emotional recall. […] if I hadn't gone to that wee dingy primary, I wouldn't have known what acting was and I wouldn't have picked it up. I'd rather be like this than [posh voice] 'Mummy and Daddy paid to send me to [a specialist theatre school]' I'd rather be in a 20/40 postcode. ('Rizzo', 1st interview, Aged 16)

Rizzo did not pull her punches in discussing her less privileged background. Distinction from the entitlement of conservatoire insiders was a source of pride, and she valued Transitions 20/40 as a signifier of her habitus. Initially, she was put in a mixed class with predominantly fee-paying students at the JCoD, with whom she experienced a profound cultural and social disconnection.

> Everybody was so pompous and all that sort of thing. I got put in on Transitions and it came across very clearly that they were, like, they knew what they were good at and they showed off a lot. They were all lovely people when you were talking to them….some….then there were others that you were just sort of like…ooft, but like, I just didn't like the atmosphere that much and I just felt out of love with [drama], it just isn't where my heart lies anymore so I dropped out of it.
> ('Rizzo', 1st interview, Aged 16)

Rizzo was relocated onto an alternative Transitions 20/40 drama pathway not based on the Junior Conservatoire. Her new course consisted of weekly classes framed on the premise that the students were running a functioning theatre company. However, she still recognized similar economic and symbolic distinctions in this new pathway, and as a result she retained a particular resentment toward the ubiquitous mention of the same drama school that her former contemporaries had spoken of.

> They would be like [puts on affected voice] 'I go to [a specialist theatre school]' and I'm like 'I don't care if you go to [a specialist theatre school], I go to [a secondary school]' Oh no, it was just really annoying. That and like [puts on affected voice] 'I come here every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.' I really don't care. I think that's how they kind of people get along, they'll brag about everything. They're like 'I love Fiddler on the Roof' and I don't know what Fiddler on the Roof is. I don't know. I like 'Hamilton' I don't care. They all get along with the way they're so unique. I don't know, it just really frustrated me. I was always trying to get along like 'did you see that on Netflix last night?' Nope,

> they did not, too busy at [a specialist theatre school]. That's just what they were like, they all bonded over their greatness, I mean I can't deal with that really, honestly. I don't know, that was how it was obvious I was a Transitions student, not to mean I was any less than them, I didn't feel any less than them, I didn't feel that way, I was just kind of like, 'You go to [a specialist theatre school], I go to [a secondary school], there's really big differences here.' and I didn't think it would ever work. ('Rizzo', 1st interview, Aged 16)

Rizzo's acting experience was gained exclusively at her secondary school, which was particularly invested in theatre productions, often contracting professional musicians and technicians to work alongside students[28]. She also spoke about an influential classroom drama teacher who expressed contempt towards the Conservatoire. Rizzo's perception of the field and the hierarchies of drama training had been shaped by these influences, which contextualized her frustration that these preconceptions were actually confirmed by her experiences at the Conservatoire. A common theme amongst many interview participants was that conservatoire cultural systems and social hierarchies were facsimiles of the professional field.

> There's always a wee group, always a wee clique and I'm always out of that wee clique because I don't talk the same as them and I don't act the same as them, I don't know what it is, but I feel that was a reflection on what it would be like in the future. ('Rizzo', 1st interview, Aged 16)

Rizzo left Transitions 20/40 for college after one year. Her experiences at the Conservatoire highlighted symbolic class hierarchies and culturally enacted exclusion. Structural exclusion was also seen in other specific strands of acting practice.

6.2.2 Tanya and Race 'I need to work harder than my peers'

> I think the way they say 'Oh, it's luck' is really not luck, but at the same time you really can't say 'Oh, I've worked hard to get here' because there are people who have worked hard as well who have just not been at the right place at the right time, not having the contacts, but how can you have contacts if you don't have the money to travel down there, do you know what I mean? I have no family members who are part of the industry or anything, so that's me just going out there and making a

[28] Direct knowledge of the researcher gained through working in the same local authority.

> name for myself, but I could be doing all this and someone next to me just gets it like that, without having to work so much. ('Tanya', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Developing Rizzo's perception that the Conservatoire reproduces the class hierarchies of the professional acting field, Tanya's case also challenges the Scottish acting professions' racial diversity. Creative Scotland (2017) data shows that 5% of those working across the arts are non-White, sitting above 'minority ethnic'[29] representation in the overall Scottish population of 3.7% (Creative Scotland 2017). However, behind the statistics lies a demonstrable lack of opportunity within the industry itself for non-white actors, with Tanya illuminating the case of a Black actor in Transitions 20/40. While over 8% (n=4) of the randomly selected Transitions 20/40 participants (n=47) identified as BAME [30], this was well below overall HE representation. SFC Statistics published in 2017 show that just over 20% of HE students in Scotland were non-White (SFC, 2017), performing considerably better than the UK conservatoire field, whose admissions were 86% White (CUKAS, 2020). Tanya tells her story with a clarity of perspective.

> Because I'm a black Scottish actor, that it's very hard for me to get casted in stuff, so I do need to work harder than my peers. ('Tanya', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Tanya was unaware that acting could be a career until her late teens and spent secondary school focussing on science, influenced by her parent's aspiration for her to go into the medical profession. Tanya struggled to convince her family that actor training was a valid professional trajectory, and this domestic resistance was augmented by her experience of structural racial discrimination, the lack of drama provision in secondary school and lack of representation within the field.

> You need to have black actors, you need to have Asian, whatever, other actors that aren't white, then again I feel that when we do cast a black actor they're just trying to tick a box, and it's frustrating because

[29] Using terminology as recorded in the 2011 Scottish Census.
[30] BAME terminology is used only to reflect existing statistical reports- its reductive properties are acknowledged here.

> you don't want to be that person that's just been ticked for a box, and I want to be cast because I'm good, but then again I see some castings and I'm just thinking 'That person's not actually white' and then again, it's all about if they want to develop your character, for example for me, like I am, my accent is Scottish, I can do English or American but if they want to develop my character and they want to have parents involved and siblings, it's very hard for me to have, to find a black dad, a black mum and siblings and all that who have the same accent as me and whatever, whereas I don't think, and I don't want to be rude or anything, but I think it's much easier for them from my experience, from what I've seen, if they say 'Right we're going to cast a black actor' they go for someone who's mixed race and I think it's easier for them to cast a mixed race person because they just need one black person and one white person. ('Tanya', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

This rationalisation of the field's lack of racial diversity does little to help Tanya's career, but contributes to the discourse on how the field enacts exclusion on a practical level. Despite parental resistance similar to Maureen, Tanya used college to train for conservatoire auditions, and after one unsuccessful attempt she was uncertain if she would apply again until after she had completed her HND. She was already attending college when she started Transitions 20/40, and was still attending college at the end of the fieldwork, receiving reduced funded hours on Transitions 20/40.

6.3.1 Angela 'This isn't the place for me'

Angela was another student who felt peripheral in the Conservatoire because of the physical homogeneity in the student population, which was reified by her initial experiences at the JCoD.

> I don't fit into the stereotype of someone who's coming to do [a drama degree]. You kind of like expect six-foot tall ballet dancers, with nice long like blonde hair. […] The first couple of weeks I was like 'Oh, I could never go here if I go to uni'. Like, I just don't fit. I must have been here before my interview because I remember seeing the [Conservatoire] showcase and I was like 'Right, okay. I don't fit in with the faces'. ('Angela', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Angela perceived an institutional predisposition towards a particular 'look' in Conservatoire courses that excluded her. This homogeneity of appearance was not something Angela had perceived in the broader field, a viewpoint

informed by her experiences of attending residential courses and masterclasses in London. She saw herself in these other institutions because they had more diverse cohorts.

> This isn't the place for me. I hadn't heard totally bad things about the Conservatoire but I'd heard of like the classes always being the same and them picking types of people, and it's not like your talent and it's more about what you look like. ('Angela', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Angela left Transitions 20/40 after one year and was studying an undergraduate degree elsewhere at the end of fieldwork, where she saw more vocational possibilities and favorable trajectories. After saying 'I don't care if I'm living in a box, I want to go to London and live there' ('Angela', 1st Interview, Aged 16), we were unable to meet for further interview after this year, despite conversational e-mail contact.

The intersection of class exclusion and racial diversity that Tanya spoke bluntly about, and that Angela implied, was not reflected enough in this study, and a dedicated study on this subject alone is overdue. Given the lack of student perspective here, due in part to the lack of black or Asian Scottish perspectives on the cohort, I share, with permission, a conversation with a Transitions 20/40 member of staff recorded in November 2017.

> If we see [strong student recruitment] with one area of diversity, then why are we shying away from it with other areas? So we know that ultimately, it's not about SIMD status, it's about what that means in terms of our society. So, we know that 4% of the population of Scotland are BAME, but 12% in Glasgow are BAME, but about 35% are SIMD 40 and about 45% are SIMD 20, so where are you going to get your ethnic diversity? Scottish ethnic diversity, not ethnic diversity from international students, which is important, but where are you going to get it?...Because you can't call yourself a diverse institution in terms of an ethnic mix, if you're not including Scots who are not white as well. Where are you getting that from? So, if you don't embrace this, if you don't look at this as a whole thing, then where's that going to come from? The idea that the whole of Scotland's ethnic community is Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian and lives in Pollokshields and is [economically] loaded is nonsense. We know that all the new Scots are living in Sighthill and Possil and Pollock, and why would we not be trying to tap into the amazing talent and the amazing young people that

> could be part of this institution in 3 or 4 years time? Why would we not do that? And if [Transitions 20/40] is a way to do that, then brilliant, that's the way we need to do that. As an institution we are totally all over the LGBT agenda, as we should be. We need to be as passionate with all the other agendas, and I don't know that that's where we are yet. (Transitions 20/40 Team Member)

This entire conversation asks how far the widening participation agenda is to be integrated into reformulating the institutional habitus. Encouragingly, Gallagher and Rodrick (2017) suggest that drama, as a discipline has the potential to first of all highlight the reproductive tendencies of educational institutions, and also interrupt them. This interruption requires the sharing of perspectives that may be difficult to hear, but should be seen as a greater good for the Conservatoire, its learners and its place in society.

6.3.2 Career uncertainty

Rizzo, Tanya and Angela's experiences demand more attention than is possible here, and a larger study devoted to these perspectives would be as pertinent as ever. Each faced structural barriers towards legitimisation in the conservatoire field because of their race or class signifiers, which ultimately governed their voluntary de-selection from conservatoire education. Now, Jen and Katie relay their experiences of a cycle of audition and re-audition in which the deselection was involuntary, further illustrating the inconsistency of opportunities and the hierarchies of learning that exist in the acting field.

6.3.3 Jen 'Life gets in the way'

> 'I feel, and this is an awful thing but there are a lot of people with rose tinted glasses that the world's just different, not that my life isn't great, but I've completely matured over the past couple of years.'
> ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Jen enthusiastically entered Transition 20/40 having already gained numerous professional roles in television dramas and feature length films. Despite her initial engagement with the Conservatoire, Jen subsequently ceased contact for the next two years and illustrated the practical logic that governed whether

participants could afford to invest all available resources in conservatoire actor training. She met for interview again in the final year of fieldwork.

> There's been a lot of change because I could never make it [to Transitions 20/40] because I got a job, I could never make the inductions and it would be at the weekend and I had work, so [my mentor] was always like that 'You need to do a course' and when it got to last year I thought, yeah, I do need to do a course because I'm wasting such a good opportunity, and it was fine at the time when I applied, but see because your life changes so much, you get jobs, you get a bit, you turn 18 and get a social life as well, but more so because the course I do is Monday to Friday 9 till 4 every day, that's what it is you don't get half days, then I work weekends and stuff like that. So I didn't do anything in second year. ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Jen continued to gain employment in adverts and plays, but admitted that acting work had become scarcer. Transitions 20/40 became a burden she laboured to set time aside for, rather than the foundation of a trajectory into the acting profession. In the second and third years of fieldwork, Jen used few of her 150 allocated funded hours, which were subsequently halved. While conventional wisdom may have dictated that the prestige of the Conservatoire overrode college because of the symbolic capital and legitimisation in the field this provided, Jen refused to buy into this educational hierarchy. She emphasised that college education was *her* education, rather than a conservatoire one. Jen pragmatically moved on after an unsuccessful audition at the Conservatoire.

> I auditioned here but I don't want to go to drama school because I feel like I've had my 3 years of training. Yeah, I just want to go out and get into the world I suppose. Yeah, I've got…not my whole life, but time if I want to go to a place like this, I feel like you should have a bit more experience in life. Even me growing over the last couple of years, I still feel like I need to do that a bit more before I would come to a place like this because you can never be a good actor if you're not experienced at things in life, and I feel like I need to do things like that first before doing it, and I think that's what it's made me realise. I mean I still need a lot of training, but then again, this Transitions is helping me with the training that I might not be getting at college, *aka* [sic] 'Film and TV' and things like that, and supporting me in areas where I don't feel supported at in college. ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Again, Jen echoed Rizzo's belief that to act you require 'life experience'. Jen saw a symbiotic relationship between her learning on Transitions 20/40 and at college, but this remained purely theoretical as she did not take advantage of conservatoire tuition, for a multitude of reasons that mainly centred around her experience of the transition into adulthood.

> After I left school I do say that I kinda calmed down, because I was in here a lot, I was, then I got a job so I had to kinda, with doing the fun kinda drama stuff I had to swap that around with a job, but I mean I don't get a day off if I'm honest. I'm in Monday-Friday and Saturday-Sunday in work. I don't get a day off, but I get nights off that I didn't used to get, although I've not had a night off in ages now, but I kinda learned to do that after I left school because I failed all my exams in 5th year and then in 6th year I kinda took a more looser attitude. I used to go to the library 12 hours a day and study and still things messed up for me. It's not cause I didn't work hard, it's just cause things didn't work out, so I've learned, not that I've relaxed because I'm quite a stress person and I want to get things done because I'm hard working, and I've kinda learned to take a back seat a wee bit because I can't do that. I need to look after myself before I push myself too much. ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

The need to work when not in college or acting, and the expectations of commitment to actor training amounted to an imbalanced lifestyle. To attend Transitions 20/40 and college would have required her to have no part-time job, which was economically unfeasible. Simply put, she believed that to make it in acting you needed time and money. Like Johnny said, the acting field is 'Pay to win'.

> There are some people that just genuinely can't have the time or the money to do it. Like I think I would be able to but I spoke about it in depth with my mum and dad before, but yeah, it's just, yeah I think that would kinda help if it was kinda that branch out into the industry rather than just the education part. I think that the education part's great, but at the end of the day if someone's not getting in at the fourth time of auditioning… like, [my friend] auditioned here twice and got in, but it's very good to just come back, but maybe if people aren't getting in through that direction into the industry then maybe they go off and do something else. Because at the end of the day, if they get through that direction of the industry then they're offering something else, because at the end of the day, if they get 1000 people auditioning for here, and it's not as if they're rejecting based on talent here, because they've

> said that a million times, that the panel are lovely in here and they don't make you feel bad about yourself or anything like that, but it's not because you're not good enough it's just because you're not right for […] the course that they're auditioning for that year, or you wouldn't have fitted right with the class, or you're worried someone didn't like you. There's many millions of factors, funding, they can only let in so many here and there and I think it just takes a wee bit of 'Ok, I've tried that, I could keep trying that but I'll just go to this opportunity' and then them going 'I'm gonnae meet this person and this person, I'm gonnae speak to the student, get in contact with them and be able to work round their school work' and work with students in the community of the RCS and it would even be interesting. ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Jen had seen contemporaries go through college or conservatoire education unable to sustain themselves, forming her belief that even tertiary conservatoire education did not guarantee the highly contested and subjective idea of success that existed in the acting field. With the benefit of hindsight Jen started to develop a more fluid conceptualisation of an actor's trajectory, which included possible rejection and deselection. Like Johnny, Jen could still identify as an actor, even if it was not her primary source of income.

> A lot of the people I know have dropped out of uni. They went to do their course and went 'I can't afford this' or 'I can't', I mean obviously we're not sitting in England paying the tuition fees, but you still have to pay your fees to get there and back. There's a girl I knew that dropped out just for the sheer fact that the train was costing her three or four hundred pounds a month. Like some of the girls on the course were telling me it's £50 a month, and they're travelling up from [a town] to come into Glasgow, so yeah, I think kinda a lot of my friends have dropped out places. A couple of them have had kids, a lot of them have went into work and left uni, and went into work. Even my boyfriend, he's… he left uni with a degree, went into a job that he was seriously over-qualified for, then left that job and now he's working for his dad's business, so a lot of that, he wanted to go and do something but ended up doing something else, so it's kinda weird. That's happened to a lot of people, I feel like I'm one of the only people that have actually stuck out their education and kinda stayed within the course because, I mean I've had days where I've been like 'Do you know what? I'm making a really good amount of money from work, so I could just go and work for the rest of my days' and I'd enjoy that but at the end of the day this is what I want to do and even If I am working in [a shop] and doing that on the side, that would be ok too. That would be the perfect life for me,

> as long as I'm doing it and enjoying it and still getting involved with stuff then that's it isn't it? ('Jen', 2nd Interview, Aged 20)

Jen's own experiences and those of her contemporaries informed her belief that full stakes investment in actor training was not practically logical based on the opportunity structures available, and her experience of getting more acting work before starting actor training. However, Jen was still a participant in the protracted cycle of actor training and intended to continue practising as an actor in parallel with part-time work.

6.3.4 Katie 'My gut is saying try again'

Katie started on Transitions 20/40 after leaving school and unsuccessfully auditioning for one of the Conservatoire's highly competitive acting degrees. She had no drama department in school and learned exclusively through local youth theatre, being the first in her family to engage with the arts. Without situated conservatoire experience, Katie prepared a Shakespeare monologue for her original undergraduate audition based on her preconception of what the Conservatoire wanted. She was unsuccessful and signposted towards a Transitions 20/40 audition instead. For the Transitions 20/40 audition she delivered a devised comedic performance which led to her being guided towards the contemporary performance practice (CPP) pathway, which conflicted with Katie's acting aspirations.

> They're my two interests right now, the CPP and the performance side and I'm really interested to see which one I actually take, because every time I think of an argument for one I think of an argument for the other one, and every time I think of an argument against it I think of an argument against the other one, so I feel like I'm facing the biggest decision of my life just now and I keep making up my mind and then changing. ('Katie', 1st Interview, Aged 18)

Katie took a gap year after school to study on Transitions 20/40 while working as a facilitator for a local youth theatre. Initially, the open nature of CPP and the diversity in age ranges was inspiring, and complimented her employment. However, she still preferred working with existing texts, and experienced all she wanted to between her first and second interviews.

> I still had lots of fun creating and devising and learning these new processes, but it was when we went to go and see some contemporary work which I don't regret seeing at all, I realised that as impressive as these ideas were behind the work, I loved stories. That's what was missing for me in all those pieces, the narrative, the characters and so I just realised that that's what I love about theatre and that's what was missing from that particular area when I saw shows. ('Katie', 2nd Interview, Aged 19)

Katie moved onto a different part-time Transitions 20/40 drama pathway before her 2nd interview, in parallel with starting an HNC in the same subject at college. She believed progression onto HND was the most likely outcome for the coming year as she had already unsuccessfully auditioned for four performing arts HEIs and conservatoires. She was able to compare audition processes across different institutions.

> I always found that every school I went to they made the cut in a different way. Like the Conservatoire do a list, whereas some of the schools down south it was just reading out names, so that was quite daunting. But no, it's good because obviously if you were to get into this industry like, I don't know how these big castings work, so to see it in as many different formats as possible was really interesting. […] Every audition had like different stages. Like some like auditions you'd be recalled, some it was just 'see you in the one-day' and make their decision […] whereas places like [London HEI] you have like two rounds and then you'd be recalled another day, […] every school was so different in terms of stages. ('Katie', 2nd Interview, Aged 19)

Katie also drew parallels between the conventions of educational institutions and the professional field. The audition process is often protracted over a number of days, meaning that auditioning for an institution far from home, incurs accommodation costs on top of travel expenses and audition fees. Katie repeated this process throughout each year of the study.

> I got a reserve place for [London HEI 1], so it's pending though until the course starts, so I'll keep refreshing but we'll see how that goes. I made the final round for [London HEI 2], so I was actually down there on Wednesday, and it was an invaluable experience, to meet the staff of these programmes and work with them in a really kind of close environment, so that was great. I made it to the Sunday for the Conservatoire and [London HEI 3] that was just the first round for that

> unfortunately, but it was quite a unique experience. ('Katie', 2nd Interview, Aged 19)

The reserve degree place never transpired and Katie continued into HND at college, which became her third year of auditioning for conservatoire acting programmes.

> Initially I thought like if you don't get in first time you think 'I'm no good', when actually you never stop learning and I've been lucky with Transitions and stuff, like they've been so encouraging with saying 'look, you need that resilience.' So maybe some things are not meant to be sometimes and if you really want it you'll go back and if not you can do something else, so just that great support network. […] I think these courses want variety, they want life, they don't want 20 of the same person and they probably do want a mixture of different accents and age ranges and heights and personalities. You never know, one year they might be wanting a particular group of people and then the next year they might want another group of people. ('Katie', 2nd Interview, Aged 19)

Katie withdrew from the study in the final year of fieldwork, but responded over email to report that she was at university studying to be a teacher.

6.4 Conclusion

The predisposition towards conservatoire study that omnivorous cultural participation and consumption presages, evident in the music participants, is once again found to be a reliable indicator of conservatoire continuation amongst drama participants. This kind of embodied knowing goes beyond aesthetic comprehension, and also inevitably includes perpetual accumulation of social and symbolic capitals, the reduction of external concerns, while increasing the stake the participant has in the game. Despite the subjectivity of success, Johnny's initial assertion that the acting field is 'pay to win' was validated in this fieldwork.

> I had to be an actor because you know, I felt entitled and I feel like a lot of young people don't feel entitled.
> ('Johnny', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Johnny felt entitled because his domestic environment bestowed cultural literacy across multiple fields. Despite lacking economic capital to 'pay', both Maureen and Johnny inherited symbolically transmitted and embodied cultural capital that resulted in them 'winning'. Maureen was able to accrue further capital through private investment in music lessons and theatre company membership, but both conservatoire transitions had parents who had gone to university and continued engagement with academic activity, and both were literate in academic parlance and conventions. They had an agency in their selection of trajectories and little real resistance towards legitimising their participation in the Conservatoire. However, this was not the case for all participants, and many struggled firstly to access and secondly sustain their participation in the acting field. Hidden structural exclusion has been highlighted in two forms; first of all in the lack of representation and legitimacy given to working-class individuals and texts, and secondly in the lack of racial and ethnic diversity visible not just in the Conservatoire but in the broader acting field in Scotland. This is fertile ground for further research, particularly in how these fields intersect, and how reproduction could be interrupted, to paraphrase Gallagher and Rodrick (2017).

Finally, difficulties in sustaining careers are discussed using participant experiences of the field's commonly enacted cycle of audition and re-audition. Research participants who were unsuccessful at their first audition struggled with the investment of time and resources required to continually re-apply and re-audition, while dealing with the growing number of external concerns and responsibilities that come with adulthood. Naturally, this process favours those with fewer external concerns regarding income generation, and Jen establishes a practical logic that does not conform to the notion that conservatoire training is the only route into the acting profession; ironically, by an entirely different route, she recognises the utility and worth of the portfolio careers that Johnny understood more intuitively. Others, like Katie, eventually withdrew from the continual cycle because they could not legitimise their continued participation in the conservatoire field despite the considerable

investment of time and resources beyond Transitions 20/40. In the next chapter, we will expand this idea of poor returns on investment through the eyes of ballet participants.

7. Dance

Barriers to Ballet

Pre-tertiary dance was still relatively new to the Conservatoire in 2013, and undergraduate programmes started only a few years before in 2011 (Duffy, 2013). Although contemporary dance has now been added to the pre-tertiary curriculum, Transitions 20/40 dance provision was confined to classical ballet for the duration of the fieldwork, and the embryonic state of dance in the Conservatoire was reflected in student uptake for Transition 20/40. Initially, a cohort of 12 students was to be funded in each year, but in the first year only 4 students were recruited, and it took until the third year to reach 12 students. Only one student, who was not a participant in this study, had continued into a conservatoire degree by the end of the fieldwork, and no research participants remained within the ballet field. Their reasons for withdrawal were diverse, but all related to the hidden investment of time and resources beyond attending formal classes. Also based on the social and cultural framing ballet privileges, ballet's suitability for widening access to the conservatoire is brought into this discussion as a commentary on the merits of unreflectively preserving the doxa in artistic fields in spite of their contemporary relevance and the alienating effect they may have on student engagement and retention.

Destination at end of Fieldwork: Dance				
Conservatoire	**University**	**College (HNC/HND)**	**Withdrawn**	**Still on T20/40**
		Carrie (SIMD 40)	Susie (SIMD 20)	Violet (SIMD 40)
			Carolyn (SIMD 40)	
			Bobby (SIMD 20)	

Fig. 13: Dance participant destinations.

7.1.1 Context

> I love dance and I love the ballet, and I also love contemporary dance, but they're very different and they're both exciting and they possibly have a different audience. So, if we accept that, why do you think we have a different audience in terms of a cohort when we're trying to recruit them? (Transitions 20/40 Team Member)

Viewing the Conservatoire as a public facing, socially situated educational institution, as much as a site of cultural production, makes ballet's adoption as the only route to widen access to dance a curious one. Ballet traces its roots to the schooling and refinement of the body in 'polite societies' in the 16th Century (Brinson, 1989, p693), and as considerable care is taken to preserve this tradition, ballet is still frequently perceived to be an elitist cultural activity (Lopez-Goicoechea, 2007). Could it be that the opportunity to participate and become part of a 'polite society' in some way insinuates an unhelpful need for refinement that does little to endear the discipline to broader society? Bourdieu identified working-class resentment to *bourgeois* culture, and showed how this was reciprocal in the way that differing classes distinguish themselves from each other either through participation in cultural practices, or through their rejection of tastes or perceived pretentions that hold little cultural worth in their location of social origin (Bourdieu, 1984). This was apparent in Rizzo's reflections on the acting profession, and this kind of demarcation through social class is consistent with Scottish projections of class identity (McCrone, 2017). Brinson (1989) suggests that elitist perceptions of ballet have more to do with the expected conditions of performance and presentation than any particular inherit practices in *doing* ballet.

> Classical ballet is […] based on a deep analysis of the capacities of the human body and human movement. […] None of this is elitist in itself. What is alleged to be elitist is the general style of movement, the conventions employed and the ambience within which classical ballet is presented. (Brinson, 1989, p699)

While the cultural framing of ballet performance may rationalise the problems Transitions 20/40 experienced with recruitment, it does little to explain the

attrition of the participants in the research sample, who found the doxa of the field and the implicit conventions of ballet training more exclusionary than the symbolic presentation of its performance.

7.1.2 Attrition

Most (n=3) ballet participants in this study withdrew from the Junior Conservatoire before the end of their secondary education, and none had transitioned into the Conservatoire or HE by the end of the fieldwork. The reflections of 'Susie', 'Carolyn' and 'Bobby' that are shared in this chapter show that there are other expectations of ballet students beyond their funded participation on Transitions 20/40. Legitimised participation demands specialism, and an exchange of economic, cultural and social capital which often requires participants to sacrifice other parts of their lives at a younger age than other artistic disciplines. 'Susie' and 'Carolyn' help identify an institutional expectation to commit to extensive, but homogenous, provision as part of a specific trajectory in the ballet field. 'Susie' valued other forms of dance and found repetitive ballet training to be either too time consuming or unfulfilling, whereas 'Carolyn' valued the rare participatory moments at the Junior Conservatoire, where semi-public 'sharings' of choreographed work were included, more than the closed vocational training which led only to the profession. Finally, 'Bobby's' case illustrates how fragile the investment in embodied *physical capitals* expected of ballet dancers can be: in a short space of time Bobby's discipline-specific capitals and balletic habitus were rendered worthless, causing him to unexpectedly alter trajectory.

7.2.1 Susie: 'Destined to dance'

'Susie' participated in this study for all four years, but her position was never truly peripheral, being recruited to Transitions 20/40 through Scottish Ballet's Associates Programme while concurrently attending other numerous dance schools. The Associates Programme offered classical ballet training to young people from primary 6 to secondary 5 (ages 9 to 16) with an aim to 'develop confident, dedicated and motivated dancers by supplementing the training

provided by regular dance teachers.' (Scottish Ballet, 2018). The Associates Programme was prescribed for specific ages and stages as Figure 14 shows, with entry and re-entry determined by annual audition and re-audition to assess initial aptitude and subsequent progress through levels.

Level	School Year
Junior Associates	P6 and P7
Mid Associates	S1 and S2
Senior Associates	S3, S4 and S5

Fig. 14: Associates programme levels (Scottish Ballet, 2018)

Benefiting from prior experience of institutionally legitimised ballet training, Susie also inherited field-specific social capital from a parent's prior involvement in dance education. Susie's parent possessed a formally accredited teaching qualification in dance, something that was still a rarity and symbolic of some distinction within the field (Clark, 2012, p17). Susie started dancing at a young age and exhibited ease with the processes of dance practice and performance:

> [I had been dancing] Since I was first walking. I was about 2, 2 and a half. It was just after my second birthday when I went. […] My mum and my gran was a dancer, and em, [my external dance teacher], her mum taught my mum, so [my external dance teacher] and my mum have been friends since they were like, little as well, and they went to the same dance school, so when [my external dance teacher] took it over, and my mum went to [my external dance teacher] as well, and like I think I was just destined to dance. ('Susie', 1st Interview, Aged 13)

In addition to her inherited social and institutionalised cultural capital, Susie initially believed '*we could have done it without the scholarship'* ('Susie', 1st Interview, Aged 13). Susie's mother had a university degree and ran her own business, and although she no longer worked in dance, she played a considerable role in Susie's legitimisation and continued participation in dance education. Susie was enthusiastic in her first interview, and seemed unperturbed by her participation in both Transitions 20/40 and Scottish Ballet,

in addition to her private dance classes. Scottish Ballet classes provided conservatoire-attuned situated learning experiences, while classes with her external dance tutor provided her with performance opportunities, competitions, and a broader range of dance styles including jazz, tap and hip-hop. The training on Transitions 20/40 was very similar to Scottish Ballet, delivered by many of the same teachers, to the same students. Initially this homogeneity orientated her trajectory towards conservatoire undergraduate study.

> GJS: So before you got involved with Transitions 20/40 what was your biggest motivation for doing ballet?
>
> Susie: Scottish Ballet probably […] Like, I really like ballet, but I don't just do ballet. I'll do tap and modern, jazz and acrobatics and stuff, but I do, I really like ballet. I think that's my top one like.
>
> GJS: […] Has that goal changed at all since Transitions 20/40?
>
> Susie: Yeah like, I think I want to go to the Royal Conservatoire, full time, like in the future, when I'm old enough if I can. I think I'd really like to do that.
> ('Susie', 1st Interview, Aged 13)

Susie was reformulating a conservatoire ballet habitus as a result of initial Transitions 20/40 participation. However, she still engaged in diverse activities during her first years and was also involved in several amateur dramatic societies.

> We done Scottish Ballet on a Saturday and it was in the morning. I think it was maybe like three-ish hours, […] At [external dance tutor]'s I do 4 hours on a Monday, em, 2 hours on a Wednesday and then here I do an hour and a half on a Tuesday and an hour and a half on a Thursday and then once a month I attend the British Ballet Association in Edinburgh and I think that's about 3 to 4 hours and we do ballet and then we get our break then we go in and do conditioning and jazz.
> ('Susie', 1st Interview, Aged 13)

As the fieldwork progressed, Susie's mastery of the ballet field grew as she became increasingly immersed in it. She began to appreciate the distinction between the focussed training she received at Scottish Ballet or Junior

Conservatoire, and the more performance-oriented participatory focus of her external dance classes. At the second interview she stated unequivocally that she wanted to become a ballet dancer despite gaining inherent symbolic value from the external provision and musical theatre activities. Her perception of Transitions 20/40 funding had also changed by the second interview, recognising that the funding meant her family could pay for additional tuition.

> I think the scholarship does really help because I do have a [sibling] as well so, I also compete with [my external dance tutor] and I do competitions and that obviously costs a lot of money and all the costumes and stuff as well, so the scholarship does really help. ('Susie', 2nd Interview, Aged 15)

By this point she was no longer attending Scottish Ballet, which meant less frequent classes of similar content to the Junior Conservatoire.

> I did re-audition, but I didn't get in and then I wasn't too bothered because [my RCS ballet tutor] taught us there as well, so it's, it was the same stuff anyway, but so it didn't really upset me in a way. I was gutted but, like em, I'm still getting the same teaching and quality here so I wasn't bothered but I don't think I'll re-audition this year. ('Susie', 2nd Interview, Aged 15)

The repetition indicated that Susie *was* perhaps in some way 'bothered' by her deselection from Scottish Ballet, which had come as a surprise given how she located herself in the dance field in interviews. The decrease in provision was redressed through Transitions 20/40 funded participation in a summer school, which took Susie momentarily out of Junior Conservatoire classes. This 'Junior Ballet Company' gave her the opportunity to explore more situated and creative dance skills in the Conservatoire for the first time, and her subsequent interview indicated that the habitus reformulation she had previously undertaken to embody the dispositions of a conservatoire ballet specialist had been in some way inauthentic or superficial.

> Susie: We get to perform at the end of [the summer school]. Like we learn a ballet repertoire and stuff and we get to, like all the parents come in and we get to perform that and like, obviously if you do things full time, you do showcases and stuff, that prepares you with your audience and things and it gives you a lot more confidence as well.

GJS: […] I don't think you had done a performance here last time I had spoken to you?

Susie: No.

GJS: […] So what was the performance you did?

Susie: It was like in a group and it was from [a notable ballet] and we learned just a part of the dance and we had to perform that for our parents, and then we also had a class where we got to make up a dance, and we were in twos and we got to make up a dance, but we all done the dance together, so there was like a two here and a two there and a two here, and em, it was about the Commonwealth Games at the time so it was like, pick seven like sports, and you have to create a dance through them. So it was like swimming and people would like be rolling and stuff like that. So it was really interesting being able to create your own things and put your wee tricks in and stuff, so it was really good.

GJS: That does sound good. So was that a really collaborative thing?

Susie: Yeah.

GJS: Was that the first time you had done anything creatively collaborative like that?

Susie: Yeah, but like sometimes if like, in [external dance tutor]'s we get to improvise and stuff, but that was something that I really enjoyed and we met new people, as she said don't go with someone you know, try and go with someone who you've never met before and then you meet new friends and you get closer to them.
('Susie', 2nd Interview, Aged 15)

The summer school broke from the repetition and tradition of the ballet classes and resonated with Susie's prior learning outwith the Conservatoire. Following this second interview, in the third year of fieldwork, Susie tried to change discipline within Transitions 20/40, running counter to the habitus reformulation and capital accrual for which her situated experiences in the ballet field had prepared her. Susie withdrew during this period and ceased communication.

7.2.2 The system's own action of training, channeling and eliminating.

Susie finally agreed to meet for a final interview at the end of fieldwork. Susie had continued classes outwith the Conservatoire with her longstanding dance tutor, but it had become clear that the ballet field had implicit rules and practices that required investment in the 'cult of technique' (Bourdieu, 1993), that outweighed the return for Susie in terms of economic and social capital.

> I still attend my regular dance classes and stuff like that. It was with, at the time I had my 5th year Highers and I just felt like it was a lot to handle. ('Susie', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Ballet was perceived to provide the technical foundations for all dance at the Conservatoire, in a similar way to Gregor's perception of western art music. However, ballet training was too specialised and repetitive, and in Susie's practical logic, it made little sense to participate in such a high-stakes/low-reward game.

> At my other dance we do tap, ballet, jazz, modern and lots of different styles of dances and it was a major help that improved my ballet a lot being at the Conservatoire, but I felt the course was the very repetitive. So, every week it was like […] repetitive, like the same stuff. Quite a lot of the time it got a little but like 'Oh, are we doing this again' and obviously that's understandable because then you need to correct things and all that. I thought those other avenues and styles of dance that I would like to try and explore rather than just ballet itself. ('Susie', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Susie was now in sixth year in secondary school and had applied for multiple musical theatre courses, but no ballet ones. We discussed how much she pursued a legitimate trajectory change within Transitions 20/40.

> Susie: Going down the musical theatre route would maybe give me more of a varied choice, so I could sing, dance, act and everything, whereas if I just do the dance course I feel like it's just strictly dance and I wouldn't sing and act as much, so I think that my preference is maybe musical theatre.
>
> GJS: Have you had any conversations at all with musical theatre programmes at the RCS at all?
>
> Susie: No.

> GJS: Was that anything that was brought up either with a mentor or PLP in Transitions as a possible option for you?
>
> Susie: I think it was, but I don't think I really ever got much information about the course with the RCS, so I think I would have to look into it.
>
> GJS: Okay, no problem. Was there anything you think RCS could have done either to help you to during your Highers to keep Transitions going?
>
> Susie: I just feel at times it was really demanding, and like as I compete with my dance school as well, then if I needed time off for that it was quite frowned upon, and it wasn't as if I had an enormous amount of time off or anything, that's not what I'm saying. It was more like if I say 'I've got my exams tomorrow or a prelim tomorrow' but you still have to come to class and I wanted that time to study more.
> ('Susie', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

There was an implied expectation for learners to prioritise ballet over academic study, so Susie withdrew from a high-risk game that had little or no safety net or institutionalised capital or transferable academic qualifications as an incentive[31]. Rather, the expectation was to continuously train and develop embodied capitals that were expected doxa of the art-form.

> I've always wanted to dance, but I would like to have my qualifications behind me so that if that didn't work out then I had options of other routes to go down. […] I think so, just because I could say 'Yeah, I want to dance or do musical theatre' and then apply to these places I'm rejected, and I've got nothing to fall back on if I had no qualifications, but if I've got the qualifications to hand there if you're like I can chose like a uni course to go onto.
> ('Susie', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

At the conclusion of the fieldwork, Susie was pleased with her exam results in school and had applied for a musical theatre undergraduate degree at another small specialist institution and other colleges. Ultimately, she hoped to go into teaching after studying, having enjoyed working with young people, and aspired towards establishing her own dance school.

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[31] Formal academic accreditation for Transitions 20/40 was introduced through the CAAT Module.

7.2.3 Summary

Susie entered Transitions 20/40 with an inherited confidence and sense of belonging, and conservatoire ballet training seemed to align with her prior dance tuition. However, as Susie underwent a habitus reformulation in an attempt to be legitimised within the field, she was unable to sustain the highly focussed training commitments at the expected level and frequency. Susie withdrew from ballet to participate in artistic disciplines that were more participatory, socially rooted and diverse.

7.3.1 'Carolyn': Not giving the right answers

'Carolyn' also participated in the study for four years but was a year younger than Susie. Carolyn initially declined to meet in person, electing to respond to the interview questions in the form of a written exercise. Her mother explained in email that *'She worries that there is a 'right answer' and she won't give it'.* Her mother had a research and social justice background and without her encouragement it is doubtful that Carolyn would have participated in the research at all. This first 'interview' revealed little, and given how much the interview conditions varied from other participants, we might be wary of incorporating data from it into the study at all. The written responses were neatly written, guarded and brief. However, her mother agreed that it was still worthwhile, as the study's longitudinal design would allow Carolyn's participation to grow as the fieldwork progressed, which in itself became a narrative in her case. Coming from a supportive, academically rich background, Carolyn had no field-specific inherited social or cultural capital in the ballet or conservatoire fields. However, over the four years it became apparent that she was culturally empathetic, and diligent about participating and behaving in an appropriate way for the given social or cultural context. Carolyn avoided conflict, and her lack of lived experience in conservatoire learning environments may have contributed to her reticence towards giving '*wrong answers'* to a conservatoire insider, as I was perceived to be.

7.3.2 Scottish Ballet outreach

Carolyn's introduction to ballet was through a Scottish Ballet outreach programme that recruited participants in her school when she was in primary 5, four years before Transitions 20/40 began. Carolyn exhibited physical attributes sought in the ballet field that may never have been recognised without Scottish Ballet's intervention.

> Maybe I would have done some dancing, but because they came to my school and that got me into Scottish Ballet and that got me into the actual Associate Programme, I don't think I would have got into ballet without it. ('Carolyn', 2nd Interview, Aged 14)

Carolyn's transition into ballet was easy, as she already regularly participated in sporting activities and her primary school facilitated a smooth transition into a legitimised institution. This prior participation also made her transition into the Conservatoire an easy one, and like Susie, she was encouraged to apply for Transitions 20/40 by Scottish Ballet. In the written response that was returned in the first year of fieldwork, Carolyn's answers reflected positively on her transition into the Junior Conservatoire, as many of the personnel and practices were identical to those she had encountered at Scottish Ballet. Carolyn duly progressed through the Associates Programme, successfully auditioning every year whilst attending private dance classes with an external tutor. By her second interview, the first in person, she had successfully auditioned for Senior Associates. Now between 2nd and 3rd year at secondary school, she was the last of '4 or 5' young people in her class who had been recruited through Scottish Ballet's outreach to be still engaged in ballet training. Carolyn exhibited an understanding of my autonomous relationship with the institution, and chose an external location herself for this interview. Carolyn now seemed embedded in the field, signifying her habitus through posture and demeanour, and articulating balletic parlance without explanation in interviews, indicating that knowledge of the field was assumed. The theme of similarity between Scottish Ballet tuition and Junior Conservatoire tuition continued, sharing the same teachers and students.

> I knew them from Scottish Ballet and I was in a class with some older people but I didn't like, know them, but I saw them in Scottish Ballet. I had seen a lot of them before in Scottish Ballet and that's how I knew them, and I think I knew the person taking the audition as well. I think I knew [RCS dance tutor] I think it was her that took the audition but I knew her from Scottish Ballet before. ('Carolyn', 2nd Interview, Aged 14)

It became clear that Susie's experiences of similarity between the Junior Conservatoire and Scottish Ballet, in their sharing of approaches as well as staff, was not idiosyncratic of her experience, but rather a condition of the ballet field in Scotland. Carolyn reported that she was explicitly told to apply to Transitions 20/40 to have other funded classes to compliment Scottish Ballet.

> Because I was in Scottish Ballet and then we were told it would be better if we had other classes along with it. […] They are pretty similar. At Scottish Ballet we do get ballet and then contemporary, but when we do get the ballet class it is pretty similar to Junior Conservatoire of Ballet classes. They're pretty much the same. ('Carolyn', 2nd Interview, Aged 14)

Scottish Ballet made clear their view that the Associates Programme was a complement to existing dance provision, meaning that all participants were expected to participate in other classes in parallel with the Associates Programme (Scottish Ballet, 2018). Carolyn had come to understand that both intersecting fields adhered to the standardised and highly structured doxa of the ballet field that were based on tradition and codification. While this mastery created a new-found confidence in her interview responses, Carolyn remained relatively pragmatic about ballet. Despite her success and progression within the structures of the field, Carolyn never gave herself completely over to pursuing a ballet career.

7.3.3 Ballet aspirations

Following her completion of the Associates Programme, continuation to undergraduate study in ballet demanded an increased level of commitment that Carolyn was unwilling to make to the exclusion of other activities. It was not until the final interview and the subsequent analysis that it emerged that Carolyn had *never* expressed a desire to become a classical ballet dancer.

Rather she saw ballet as one aspect of an active, rich and varied lifestyle, undertaken for the physical capital this gave her, rather than the symbolic or cultural benefits of her ballet participation. Every year she was asked about her ballet aspirations:

> I just wanted to see where I was going and enjoy what I was doing. ('Carolyn', 1st Interview, Aged 13)

> Like, I am interested in ballet, I do like it, but I also, like I love school and a lot of people don't, but I like it and I love doing all the different subjects and everything, so just now since I've been doing ballet I'm going to continue doing it. Basically I'm going to keep going through it and not really focusing on the future kind of, I'm just going to stay and keep going and see where it goes basically.
> ('Carolyn', 2nd Interview, Aged 14)

> I don't know. I just see it as like a class that I do, but I see it as a hobby now and dancing is just something I like to do so I just do it. Yeah, but I know for other people it's like training them to be the best dancer.
> ('Carolyn', 3rd Interview, Aged 15)

> I don't think I will become a dancer. I don't really know, aye, but I really love school and I want to stay there, so and if I went to a ballet school I'd have to leave like next year, or I could leave later but it would be less chance of me doing dancing and I think that if I wanted to be a dancer I'd have to drop everything and just do that and I don't really want to do that. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Carolyn experienced tension and divergence between a broad education and a specialised ballet education. She was not inclined to invest her accrued capital in the ballet pathway, despite having a grasp of the field and its practices, and an embedded balletic habitus. Carolyn had been increasingly open about this with her dance teachers at the Conservatoire.

> [My teacher] doesn't push me to go in any direction, [my teacher] just asks if I'll keep auditioning, and I say I probably will until I don't enjoy it anymore or I can't do it. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Carolyn *'liked being busy'* and was unperturbed by the comparatively large workload and commitment that ballet training demanded in the earlier stages. This was reflective of a cultural milieu outside of ballet amongst Carolyn and her friends, where it was common to be involved in multiple physical extra-

curricular activities such as Tae Kwon Do, Hip Hop Dancing and Netball. These physical activities had tangible benefits and Carolyn had no issue investing time in this type of physical capital accrual.

> Carolyn: When I'm at home I do like stretch just the muscles and stuff and I do like practice steps that I'm not that confident in, but I have done more now that I do ballet more than I used to. I do like go home and I feel like I NEED to stretch a bit more and I NEED to practice stuff rather than before. So it's just kind of I just go home and naturally I don't need to be told to do it, I just do it.
>
> GJS: So did you have to be told to do it before hand?
>
> Carolyn: I remember we got an exercise sheet at Scottish Ballet that we had to do every night but we don't get that anymore and I just feel like I go home and do it anyway. […] I do want to be like prepared for class and I don't want to look like I have to be here, like. I do show when I'm dancing that I love to dance.
> ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Although Carolyn had finally expressed a love of dance, she still primarily participated in Conservatoire ballet classes because she was diligent, empathic of expectations in social situations, and was aware of the opportunity she had been given. In her final interview Carolyn spoke about additional dance classes she was attending that focus on exams and performances as opposed to the vocational training at the Conservatoire and Scottish Ballet. Although it was Scottish Ballet that had encouraged her to take yet another class, the doxa differed in these classes in both the social and institutionalised cultural priorities.

> I've got one other class on a Friday, but no-one's really from Scottish Ballet. Like my class there is for my exams because at 20/40 and Scottish Ballet you don't do exams, so that's how I kind of go up the grades and when I'm like filling in an application I can say what level I'm at, and we also do a show every year, so that's coming up and I just learn dances for that as well, so that's nice to like perform to the other classes because we don't to that either.
> ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Her new classes offered formal accreditation and performance opportunities, returns which Carolyn valued. There was a sense that Carolyn now

questioned her capacity to meet expectations in the Conservatoire and Scottish Ballet and, indeed, Carolyn withdrew from Transitions 20/40 in the third year of fieldwork. At the time of interview, she had just sat her National 5 exams and had started to feel pressured into committing to a career in dance. Carolyn's mother contacted me regarding her withdrawal from the fieldwork.

> Hello Graeme,
>
> How quickly the months pass!
>
> I'm not sure if you know that [Carolyn] withdrew from the 2040 programme in October [last year]. She was finding the two days straight from school and all the other programme time demands too much along with her school work for exams this year. She also felt keenly a pressure on the course to commit to a definite career in dance/arts which she didn't feel able to do.
>
> The 2040 tutors were supportive and it was a very difficult decision for her. It was the right one though as she has been more relaxed generally since leaving and reports from her other dance classes are that her dancing improved once she decided ballet school was not for her!
>
> I don't know if you would still like to meet with [Carolyn] for a research interview. If so I will ask her.
> Overall we really appreciated the opportunity 2040 offered and she did enjoy it up to the last term when there seemed to be a lot more demands. It was right that the funding should transfer to another young person who was clear on an arts career.
> I hope your research is going really well.
> Warmest wishes,
>
> (Email with Carolyn's mother)

At this point in the fieldwork Carolyn felt that she had nothing more to contribute to the discussion. Fortunately, following reassurance, she participated in a final interview and gave far more developed views of her own career aspirations and the tensions with ballet.

7.3.4 After Transitions 20/40

In her final interview, Carolyn spoke with confidence and clarity, unconcerned with projecting any expected or institutionally legitimised habitus:

> I became quite interested in the police actually, because we went to a careers evening and just going about there's people from different jobs who just speak to you, and we went around a few people and then I talked to the police and they seemed really, like, I really liked what they said to me and, like, it seemed, like, good because you could be in the police but there's so much you can do, like so many jobs, so you can always just change as well, and just do two years training and decide what you want to do in the police, so I thought that was quite good. […] you can go straight when you're 17 and you just need to apply and you don't really need much, or you can do, like a degree at university and it would be, like when you get in you might get up higher in the ranks quicker, so I think if I was to go down that route I'd go to uni first, and it can just be something you enjoy doing, because they don't really necessarily look for certain degrees to do it, so I thought that was quite good. […] and I like PE and that, so it seemed quite physically demanding as well. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

The breadth of options available, combined with her desire to utilise the physical capital she had accrued informed Carolyn's attraction to a career in the police force. In this final year Carolyn completed her 2nd year of Senior Associates, achieving the highest level of institutionalised capital this could give her. The investment of time and resources towards a recognised symbolic achievement was one of her reasons for continuation with Scottish Ballet, while the lack of linear pathway and teleological goal was the reason she withdrew from the Junior Conservatoire. The training on offer at the Conservatoire had no comparable destination or institutionally legitimised qualification beyond the preparation for undergraduate study. Carolyn outlined the point where her view of ballet as an enjoyable pastime transformed into an undesirable career path that she was being guided toward.

> My week was so busy and then it just started to feel like I had to go rather than I wanted to and it was just a lot of, kind of pressure, like everyone in the class wanted to be like dancer and I knew I didn't want to be a dancer, and it wasn't that it wasn't enjoyable but it just felt like a lot of pressure. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Carolyn recognised a distinction between the value she attributed to dance and the value those that sought a ballet career attributed to it.

> Senior Associates and RCS, to get into them you have to be, I don't know, to do one of them you have to do the other I guess, so they're both such high quality and level so like you had to be really committed to do them, so when I went to them I had to be completely like, into it, rather than the one, [External Dance Tutor]'s where I'd do the show, it's more like you do it for a hobby, like no-one really is that serious there, so you see like a lot of people really want to be dancers and it wasn't really like we're split or anything, but I could see that I wasn't as motivated to be the best as they were, so it was probably Associates where I saw it the most because people want to be there because they wanted to be the best. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Carolyn withdrew from Transitions 20/40 when her investment had reached its optimal value in terms of the *capital* she could take away and use in other fields, before she entered advanced training and engaged in the sort of specialised labour that would only have worth in the ballet field: in this sense, her withdrawal demonstrated a clear practical logic. This was the point where Carolyn believed she could walk away having truly benefitted from Transitions 20/40, rather than it being detrimental. Carolyn also saw that many of those who wanted to progress in the field and study ballet did not value broader education in the way that she did.

> A lot of them said they just didn't enjoy school, and when I spoke to them none of them were that interested in it and wanted to just leave as soon as they could really, but I really enjoy school so even if I did want to go into dance I knew that I wouldn't have gone in at like 16, like straight away. ('Carolyn', 4th Interview, Aged 16)

Carolyn never intended to become a dancer, regardless of the ease with which she negotiated the field and positioned herself within it. In positive terms, her case illustrates that an individual does not need to have field-specific inherited capital to get ahead in the ballet field. However, Carolyn's case also raises questions of the objectives and desired outcomes for widening access to dance at the Conservatoire. It is clear that there is a tipping point where it becomes impossible to treat a highly codified and technically demanding artistic practice like ballet as a hobby, where it

becomes a much more serious vocational undertaking. This tipping point demands the individual to make a decision on how to use the capital they have accrued, whether to 'cash in' or put all of their investment into a narrow and focussed ballet pathway, at what is still a relatively young age. The final ballet case demonstrates that this decision is not always within the control of the individual.

7.4.1 Bobby 'Out of your hands'

> See, the thing about Juniors is it's sort of two years of having fun and seeing if you enjoy it and it sort of, do you want to take this further and it could be a career option, and it's like if you don't enjoy these two years of Juniors it's probably time for you to stop taking it at Scottish Ballet and certainly at RCS and stop taking it as seriously, as it could be a career option from there on in.
> ('Bobby', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Bobby was 15 years old when he started Transitions 20/40 in the third year of fieldwork. Like Susie, he did not perceive the funding to be particularly transformative, as he had already reached Senior Associates with Scottish Ballet and had privately funded attendance at the Junior Conservatoire of Dance for 3 years prior to his family's move to an SIMD 40 datazone.

> We didn't really need it, but it's just nice after doing it for so many years to see people like the government saying 'Yes we want to help you out with this.' and it was just nice to have that extra money put aside for dancing, and it was just nice to know you were recognized for your talent and to be given help with your training, that was the best bit.
> ('Bobby', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Bobby's father was an engineer and his mother was a teacher. He was the second oldest of 4 children, all of whom were dancers. Like Susie and Carolyn, he first started attending the Junior Conservatoire of Dance acting on the advice of his tutors at Scottish Ballet.

> If you were going to Scottish Ballet you were advised, if you could, to go to RCS during the week so I did that.
> ('Bobby', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Again, Bobby had been through the processes of auditioning and re-auditioning through the years and levels of the Associates Programme, and highlighted the explicit channels of elimination that were ingrained in the field.

> There's a good reason for the auditions each year because you know your body changes so much at this time and they just want to make sure you're still at a level high enough that your body isn't put under too much stress or anything like that and just want to make sure that you'll still be able to do this and take it on as a career, so yeah, there's still a very high chance of being told 'no' and I know a lot of people […] from the Junior class, it was quite a big class. It was a class of about thirty, now it's down to about sixteen, so they do really cut.
> ('Bobby', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

Bobby had successfully auditioned for three years before a medical diagnosis triggered a non-structurally enacted form of elimination from ballet training.

> GJS: So you being in Seniors, I presume you are going to carry on as a career?
>
> Bobby: I was and then unfortunately, my knees… I've got [an injury] where the muscles have pulled the joint out of alignment, so high impact sports like dancing where I'm jumping a lot, I just can't physically do it because my knees just won't support it. So unfortunately, I can't do it as much of a career anymore. I do still enjoy watching, seeing dance and looking at it and I go and see Scottish Ballet quite often and just looking and seeing what they do but it's certainly still, I still do enjoy it, watching it but unfortunately I can't do it anymore. ('Bobby', 1st Interview, Aged 15)

7.4.2 'Just a chance you take'

Pickard (2012) suggests that the 'young dancer's ballet body and habitus is produced and maintained through an embedded assumption that emotional and physical suffering, for the sake of ballet as art, is normalized and accepted social practice*.'* (Ibid, p43). Bodily fragility was an accepted concession in the field that Susie had also normalized.

> I have [a medical condition] and a lot of the time like when I was first diagnosed I would think like 'Oh, will I be able to dance and act and do all of what I want to do' and luckily I can, but I understand that people get hurt and injured all the time in this kind of work, but it's just a chance you take. ('Susie', 3rd Interview, Aged 17)

Bobby, having invested considerable time and resources in developing technique, skills and a balletic body, had now completely lost all physical capital invested in the 'formation of the dancing habitus' (Tsitsou, 2014, p65) just as he started receiving what he saw as financial legitimisation. Bobby's next step was to see how his accrued capital could be used in a way that was not wasteful.

> Once I found out about the injury and I looked and I spoke to other people, I'm sort of witnessing people leave or not get back into Scottish Ballet and Conservatoire. It's always at the back of my mind that people do leave because they can't do it anymore. I knew one person, they broke their toe, they tried to come back and they couldn't and they just stopped because of it, so I did know quite a few people that had to do it because of injury, and speaking to my friends at school, them not necessarily dancing, a lot of people with football or running or high impact sports, a lot of them, I didn't realise how common [my injury] was at this age, and then sort of realising that it makes you sort of go 'Ok, it wasn't just me that got it, and it wasn't just me that's had this, and speaking to several people in my class that I knew, just like 'Yeah, I have still got it and I can't do this' and that's, it's not nice to hear but it's kind of like 'OK, this is a common thing, it's not just me that's got it, it's not just me that's affected'. So on the dancing side of it there weren't too many injuries but there were quite a few people who had to leave because of it, it's just luck at the end of the day whether your body can stand it or not, and when you grow and when you don't, because it came at a really bad time. If I was really going to progress with it, because I started getting new pains in January and it got progressively worse through February and then I had to stop completely by March and then by the Easter holidays I had finished the last couple of classes but If I wanted to progress seriously I needed to really work hard and improve my training for those few months because by the time October came around that was audition time, because throughout those few months up to October that was when I had to start increasing my training and my sort of physique work and I couldn't so that was really the point where I was like 'I can't do this, this is not good' because you can't turn up to an audition like that because you won't be getting in. ('Bobby', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Although there was a chance Bobby could recover from the condition, his diagnosis ended his ballet career because of its timing. This was similar to the tipping point Carolyn experienced, though she had more agency in her decision to withdraw. The doxa of the ballet field determine, in accordance

with the strict progress required in specific time frames in the Associates Programme, that each stage in the trajectory happens at a more or less fixed point. To move position in the field, there is a very small window of opportunity within which accrued capital holds its worth. For an individual to move toward legitimisation in the field they must sustain the ideal combination of timing, circumstances, ambition, training and physical capital. This is true of most artistic disciplines, but is visible in the extreme in the ballet field. Transitions 20/40 helped with the consequences of Bobby missing this window by offering him assistance and advice on how best to trade the value of the capital invested in his balletic practice elsewhere.

> It wasn't like 'Oh my god this is the end of my life, what's going to happen?' because I knew that this wasn't going to happen, it was in the back of my mind that he was going to say because of your knees and the way you've grown you can't do it, it's not, you can dance, but just not doing classical ballet which I was really wanting to do, but to hear, the thing with dancing, and I've always sort of said this, where they'll just sort of leave you hanging, they won't tell you can do it or you can't do it, you will make it or you won't, they will leave it as long as possible for as long as they can to make sure they don't give you the wrong information because they can't tell you at the age of ten that you can't do this, so to have someone to sit down with and at least explain to me why it would be impossible and these are the other options was the first bit of clarity that I had. ('Bobby', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Bobby recognised from a young age there was a possibility that his investment of time and resources would be futile, and, in some respects, having ballet eliminated as a possible trajectory offered Bobby closure and clarity. However, this raised questions about the support that should be available to other prospective ballet dancers as they gamble such huge investments of resources on a relatively speculative career path, especially if they were from a more pronounced working-class or SIMD 20 background. There are limited ways in which the physical capital gained from ballet training, which demands a commitment of time that is detrimental to the accrual of other capitals, can be used outwith the ballet field. Bobby found a way to apply his physical capitals in an eerily similar way to Carolyn.

> I started looking at 'in these exams what will I need to do to get where I want?' and I started looking at degrees and then the police force became really, like it was always there and then it was just becoming more and more apparent that I wanted to do that and obviously the skills from dance with the, everything, could be transferred into it from what I've learned through discipline and commitment and all that, so I thought that could be interesting. So I looked at the degrees surrounding it and I'm coming to the conclusion now that I want to do criminology and sociology at university, so once I kind of got that in my head the higher exams became a lot more important because it wasn't really something I was interested in up until that point.
> ('Bobby', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Bobby used his new time and freedom to commit to a new trajectory which applied the less physicalised aspects of his balletic habitus. Although Bobby's injury was unique within the research cohort, he observed how few of his contemporaries had followed a ballet pathway a year after he withdrew from all ballet training.

> It was sort of everyone and then no-one anymore. It wasn't necessarily everyone hating it, it's just that everyone found other things to do, just found other things, and I suppose that was a sort of really strong part of Scottish Ballet, because when you do come into that, you're not doing anything else with your week. It is dance and that is it, and if you don't have a really strong passion and love for that it's really hard to get into it, and you do see people and it's that way where they're there for that one class and they don't go for the rest of the week. If you don't love it… ('Bobby', 2nd Interview, Aged 16)

Bobby was forced to withdraw from the classical ballet programme at a time when his commitment to that programme would have been detrimental to his wider academic development. After leaving ballet, he found ways to use aspects of his balletic habitus, but also witnessed his contemporaries within the field withdraw from training at the same key point, for similar reasons.

7.5 Barriers to Ballet: Conclusion

There were few ballet participants on Transitions 20/40 and as a result the research sample includes a broader proportion of the full cohort than any other sample in the study. None of the participants were newcomers to formal ballet tuition upon entering the Conservatoire because they all came from

Scottish Ballet, and already exhibited a balletic habitus in varying degrees. Transition into the Conservatoire was smooth as each participant spoke of the pedagogical and social homogeneity that existed between Scottish Ballet and the Conservatoire. Susie, Bobby and Carolyn's views suggest that rather than being a distinct pathway in its own right, Transitions 20/40 participation was used to supplement the Scottish Ballet Associates programme. It became clear during the fieldwork that this was a very specific mode of training that would only ever result in a small number of individuals legitimising their participation and moving towards a narrow range of undergraduate programmes and jobs in the profession. None of the research participants survived this process of training, channelling, and elimination for a number of different reasons:

- Their vocational ambitions in ballet were not sustained
- They contended with injury or illness at key transitional points
- They desired a wider, and different, range of artistic expression

It could be argued that Transitions 20/40 could have better nurtured participant ambitions in an appropriately transparent and realistic way, rather than eliminating individuals whose ambitions lay outwith ballet specialism. There was a clear tipping point towards the end of the Associates Programme where participants were required to either invest fully in the ballet profession at the expense of other institutionalised academic capital, or withdraw entirely. The focus and dedication required, with relatively small odds of recompense from a protracted period of investment, became a deciding factor on continuation or elimination. There were few opportunities for external reward and symbolic capital through accreditation or public performance, as the next stage entailed intense professional development, recalling Bourdieu's '*cult of technique'* (Bourdieu, 1993). Like the musical field, the dance field should look outward, firstly to dispel perceptions of ballet as an elitist activity through the framing of performances, but also through the diversification of pedagogical possibilities and possible routes into the Conservatoire through dance. Since

Transitions 20/40, contemporary dance pathways have been introduced to the Junior Conservatoire, and the CAAT module does in some way transfer institutional accreditation. However, further innovation and interdisciplinary practice should be pursued, perhaps undergraduate routes towards teaching qualifications, and strategies of how to help protect the investment in physical capital of those who are unable to complete the existing vocational journey for reasons outwith their control should be embedded for students without a safety net.

8. Production and Screen

Conservatoire dissonance

Production and screen pathways were introduced at the start of the second year of Transitions 20/40 in 2014. This chapter uses case studies of two production students, selected as the 'significant players' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) that most effectively answer the research question, to argue that these artistic disciplines illustrate the purpose and potential of widening participation in conservatoire education by legitimising creative practices that are less reliant on the social reproduction of embedded institutional practices. Instead, prioritisation of student-driven, project-based learning and the utilisation of 'new literacies' allow individuals to build on their own authentic learning experiences and trust their instincts. Both production and screen's interdisciplinary nature places value on the diverse skills and prior experiences of its students, making it possible to come from outside discipline specific fields, start later in life, and still advance to the tertiary conservatoire.

Where previous chapters told stories of conservatoire transitions who had been formally 'conserved', as fully situated participants in the field from a young age, screen and production students came from literary, musical, acting, technical theatre and visual arts backgrounds. Their creative work did not appear to be as inseparable from their identity as it did for music, drama or ballet students, as research participants approached production and screen as socially contextualised, collaborative and interdisciplinary activities. Conventions of the screen and production fields dictate this: to learn scenic art, lighting, make-up, costume design, camera operation, scriptwriting, editing or technical theatre requires collaboration with actors, directors, musicians and dancers. Both fields have an inbuilt flexibility as a core tenet of their function, which actually negates the requirement for students to abandon their habitus, or go through a process of protracted habitus reformulation so far

incorporated as a key element of conservatoire transition. The resultant situated interdisciplinary learning in the Conservatoire suited some participants, while others preferred working autonomously and independently, but all participants imparted a constructive view of creative work as a trade or craft, a work of technical action as much as it is a work of artistry (Becker, 1982).

As both disciplines tell the same essential story, this chapter focuses solely on two production participants, as screen students were younger on average, and still largely on Transitions 20/40 at the end of fieldwork. Most production participants came from SIMD 20 datazones, making it the only artistic discipline with a majority of SIMD 20 participants. Production is also the only discipline with an SIMD 20 participant, known here as 'Ari', who transitioned into a conservatoire undergraduate programme – a point that is especially pertinent since the Scottish Funding Council's widening access agenda narrowed during this research to focus specifically on SIMD 20 areas. 'Ari' is contrasted with the case of 'Tamara', also from an SIMD 20 datazone, who withdrew from the programme before his second year. Fortuitously, Tamara continued participation with the research, and contributes to the understanding of the cultural dissonance and alienation participants from the most deprived areas experience negotiating conservatoire culture.

8.1 Results

There were 6 production students and 6 screen students randomly selected for the research sample. The sample was evenly split between SIMD 20 datazones and SIMD 40 datazones for screen students, however two thirds (n=4) of the production sample were from SIMD 20 datazones. Stratification by destinations of the participants in these art forms also indicated that the production pathway more effectively prepared students for conservatoire-specific or related HE degrees than any other artistic discipline. The majority of screen students were still on Transitions 20/40 at the end of the fieldwork,

but one had changed discipline to drama, and another had started an acting course at college.

Destination at end of fieldwork: Production				
Conservatoire	**University**	**College (HNC/HND)**	**Withdrawn**	**Still on T20/40**
Ari (SIMD 20)	Alex (SIMD 20)		Tamara (SIMD 20)	Lorna (SIMD 40)
Karl (SIMD 40)				Ettie (SIMD 20)

Fig. 15. Production participant destinations

Destination at end of fieldwork: Screen				
Conservatoire	**University**	**College (HNC/HND)**	**Withdrawn**	**Still on T20/40**
	Hope (SIMD 20)	Craig (SIMD 40) [32]		David (SIMD 40)[33]
				Boyd (SIMD 20)
				Mel (SMID 20)
				Roger (SIMD 40)

Fig. 16. Screen participant destinations

8.2 Behind the numbers: The cases of 'Ari' and 'Tamara'

Ari and Tamara were both selected randomly from the Transitions 20/40 production students and were both from SIMD 20 datazones. The first wave of interviews was conducted within a 5-day period in their first year of

[32] Studying acting at college.
[33] Changed discipline during fieldwork to drama

participation, after some initial cancelations. Both participants came across as reticent and shy at their first meeting, but it quickly became clear how strong a 'sociological imagination' (Wright-Mills, 1959) they each had, through their tendency to frame observations and experiences in terms of power relations, institutions and class structures. They had the capacity to locate themselves within Transitions 20/40 as a field of power within the Conservatoire, and spoke critically about what it meant to be participating in it, how they first engaged with it, and the setbacks they experienced and the preconceptions they held prior to Transitions 20/40. Ari spoke of how she had applied for a production short course at the Conservatoire to take her towards undergraduate study and was directed towards Transitions 20/40 as a funding route. Ari had no formal prior arts training beyond art and design classes at secondary school, but had informal experience from numerous contexts, and her parents encouraged her to apply for the Conservatoire short course based on her interest in the production arts and a self-diagnosed need to improve her confidence before applying for undergraduate study. Tamara was signposted towards Transitions 20/40 by a tutor at a local community media arts hub he attended, having had difficulty engaging in school, despite harbouring obvious interest in photography, literature and music. Tamara spoke of this hub as a 'family' within which he had a strong sense of belonging.

In the beginning, both participants experienced a degree of social and cultural alienation at the Conservatoire, which was not perceived to be the product of any specific pedagogic action, but a result of the dominant habitus within their cohort's social demographic. Pedagogically, both participants were enthused and receptive towards the learning and teaching at the Junior Conservatoire.

> It's one of the most unique teaching styles I've been involved with, because it is really hands-on, and it's just so fun. Kind of, we have done a pyrotechnics short course a few weeks ago and then just kind of... They showed us a few things; a few cool things, then they just threw us in and we set up a display so… and it was inside as well! ('Tamara', 1st Interview, Aged 17)

> It is a lot more informal, they just let you do what you want to do like […] Yes, it is a lot more relaxed, but I would say that it helps you to concentrate more because it ensures that all your concentration isn't on what you are going to do, like 'Am I getting told off for this?'. It is more on actually listening […] It has made me a lot more aware of the production in the theatre. ('Ari', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

The efficacy of the pedagogic communication in the Junior Conservatoire differed from their collective experiences of school, where they each felt part of a system that neither communicated effectively, nor was conducive to autonomous or creative thought. At the first interview they perceived school to be oppressive and uncreative, with authority figures not recognising or being adequately informed about the multitude of career possibilities in the creative industries. They both viewed school as actively perpetuating social and economic structures within the predominantly working-class communities from which they originated (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). At the point of the first interview Ari was struggling with the increased pressures of Higher exams and Tamara had dropped out of formal education altogether, after having briefly taken a product design course at a local college. The new practical teaching styles that they were experiencing at the Junior Conservatoire changed their perception of education as a means of oppression; for the first time, they could see formal education as a space where imagination and creativity could be encouraged and facilitated. However, aside from the teaching, Ari and Tamara both spoke of the more dissonant social and cultural practices of the Conservatoire, particularly in how they related to some of their new classmates' varying backgrounds and class origins.

> Tamara: It wasnae the norm to me at the time, and it still isnae, but they're really nice people, and there is people like me here too. Well, everybody here is like me, but you know what I mean.
>
> GJS: [Laughs] Kind of. What do you mean?
>
> Tamara: I don't know. Because I am really into politics I really do see a split in society, a very clear one between bottom class and middle and upper-class people. Those are definite two sides, in my mind anyway,

and I know who I belong to. That's it. I don't want to get into politics too much.

GJS: No, no, no. It's good. Do you see any of that opposition here?

Tamara: Oh aye. Everybody does. 'Cause... I don't know… I tried to talk to everybody and it's not like they're bad people, it's just that we don't have a lot in common. They're lovely people, genuine and nice. Just don't have much in common with them. I've got two people that I talk to here regularly and they are the only other two people in my class that's on Transitions, and I never even knew that, I just fit in with them. When I got more friendly with them, I realised that. So that's a big indicator that there is a divide.
('Tamara', 1st Interview, Aged 17)

Tamara had a clearly conceived class identity and recognised others who he believed shared these qualities, often through their collective differences, as well as those who did not. He inadvertently found social connection with those who exhibited characteristics congruent with his own habitus, and distanced himself from the students that exhibited the characteristics of the dominant class habitus he identified in the Junior Conservatoire.

GJS: So I was going to ask you if you do know specifically who the other specific Transitions students are?

Tamara: It was by accident. I just fell in with them. But they're nice, everybody's nice.

GJS: What is it about the friends you've made that meant that you hit it off?

Tamara: Stuff in common, I don't know, they were just easier to talk to. The other ones, I tried to talk to them and they tried to talk to me, but that click, it just never quite happened, but with them we just sat and talk away, it's natural. We had things in common but I can tell things they didn't like and they'll still be interested. Much easier to talk to, much more natural.

GJS: So what kind of things is it you had in common?

Tamara: Theatre, […] we liked art in general. Kind of politics as well. We had the same points of views on things that are happening right now. Social events and fashion, we kind of dress the same because it's only two people that I talk to and we like Doc Martins and stuff like that.
('Tamara', 1st Interview, Aged 17)

The ‘natural’ social interaction Tamara experienced with the other Transitions 20/40 students resulted in a ‘click’, and he did not see it as chance or through lack of effort that this ‘click’ never happened with those from outside of Transitions 20/40. The ‘click’ was, he said, a product of a common position in the Conservatoire field that was a result of a shared unfamiliarity and relative discomfort with the dominant ways of speaking and acting. This mutual newness bonded these Transitions 20/40 students, and their shared social practices and histories were often transmitted and readable to each other through other more tangible and visible capitals.

8.3 Resistance through rituals

Tamara indicated that Transitions 20/40 participants projected similar cultural and symbolic capital that suggests compatibility with his own habitus. Although this did not preclude social interaction with others, these visible manifestations work to confirm and solidify like-mindedness and similarity. These symbolic capitals were signified using cultural artefacts, activities and taste preferences. Examples that came up in interview included musical tastes, fashion, what individuals chose to do during breaks, and other indications of their lives outside the Conservatoire. Each of these factors was loaded with richly coded information. Some of the symbolic capitals that Tamara and Ari described as physical signifiers of class identity recalls the influential, if largely outdated in mainstream sociology, work of Stuart Hall and the ‘Birmingham School’ on subcultural theory (Hall and Jefferson, 1975). In this view, fashion, music and other cultural preferences were used to purposefully create a distinction between an individual and what was seen as the dominant culture or class, the contention being that subcultural theory assumed there was a homogenous mainstream, dominant culture or class. In Tamara’s experience, this was an efficient way of projecting difference as a way of finding other like-minded individuals. Brake interpreted CS Ford’s view that culture was a reactive construct.

> What people do depends on the problems they contend with […] A complex society involves various subgroups and subcultures in a struggle for legitimacy of their behaviour, values and life-style against the dominant culture of the dominant class. (Brake, 1980, p6).

Was there a homogeneous mainstream or dominant class that subcultures were resisting in the Conservatoire? Tamara and Ari both saw the non-Transitions 20/40 students exhibit signifiers of what they saw as the dominant class in broader society, signifying forms of economic and cultural advantage that Ari and Tamara found alien. They both undermined the legitimacy of these advantages and lent a legitimacy to their own experiences by re-actively positioning the non-transitions as the 'other' in their interviews. There were also parallels in the way resistance manifested itself through fashion, music and behaviour that purposefully deviated from expected norms (Becker, 1963) as a way of efficiently projecting subcultural identity in a symbolic sense. The efficacy of these signifiers has been diluted through decades of universalization, but it appears that wearing certain shoes or listening to certain music still hold a degree of symbolic sub-cultural capital to these participants. Ari or Tamara found other like-minded individuals with shared political ideas or shared histories using these signifiers as projections of a different habitus and class identity. Similarly, other aesthetic qualities like having dyed hair, speaking more colloquially, or smoking cigarettes, projected a distinction from other Conservatoire students for whom *these* behaviours were alien, as they conflicted with their middle or upper-class habitus. Ari also found a stark class distinction in other students' objectification of their economic capital and their apparent lack of awareness of how this differed from her lived experiences and class origin.

> GJS: Did you know who the other Transitions 20/40 students were?
>
> Ari: Yes, we introduced ourselves almost straight away, because I suppose you could almost kind of tell who was Transitions and who wasn't. So it was quite interesting.

GJS: Really? How could you tell?

Ari: It was just like all the others would be talking about, and I know this sounds really weird, but about how many maids they had in the house and so the Transitions people would be like looking at each other, and we instantly clicked on that we were the people without any maids or anything and we were the Transitions so it's brilliant.

GJS: Well okay, did that genuinely happen?

Ari: Yes.

GJS: Okay, cool. Do you think you have stayed in touch with fellow Transitions students?

Ari: Yes, definitely. We have grown to be really good friends.

GJS: What about the non-Transitions students?

Ari: Not as much so because being a Transitions is good and it is bad. It is good about the fact that you feel you are part of something bigger, but I suppose there is also that element that people look on you that you haven't had to work hard enough, or your family hasn't worked hard enough for you to get to this place, so there is always that sort of conflict. But I suppose I might keep in touch with them if I ever see if… because it is such a range that people want to do in the production team. So they have got some people who want to do sound and lighting and [someone] wants to do scenic art. So it is all about… see if I was to [perform my specific production role] or something and we needed a lighting technician or something I could call somebody up and be 'Hey'. So, I suppose there will always be that connection but it won't be as strong as it will be with the Transitions folk.
('Ari', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Ari normalised her own experiences and undermined those of non-Transitions students with gentle ridicule that probably exaggerated the reality she encountered. However, she pragmatically saw the need to generate social capital in the field in which she hoped to forge a career, and recognised that it was in her best interests to learn more about the realities of others, even though they contrasted with her own durable dispositions. On the other hand, her habitus was inextricably linked to the other Transitions students and she doubted she would ever be able to reformulate her habitus or traverse the social divide that existed in her field.

> Ari: Yes. Me and the Transitions people we actually talk about that.
>
> GJS: How does that kind of show itself?
>
> Ari: Mainly because they will go off to Costa for lunch and the Transitions people will go to Greggs or maybe won't even have lunch will just have a coffee or something and then bring it back. The other thing, the Transitions people go outside for a smoke and whereas the others are like 'Oh no smoking no'. So, it is a bit strange, there is that sort of, not an outcast but just you are not as involved. I suppose you are more involved with the other Transitions people so it is good. ('Ari', 1st Interview, Aged 16)

Again, this positioned Transitions 20/40 as a subfield within the Junior Conservatoire of Production, with its own doxa, capitals and priorities. Ari's observations contained potent signifiers of class identity within a relatively small Junior Conservatoire cohort, including smoking cigarettes and eating from Greggs (a chain of bakers offering inexpensive takeaway food). This was opposed to the dominant group who would go to Costa for lunch, which financially excluded the Transitions students.[34] Later, Ari also suggested that within the Junior Conservatoire, Transitions 20/40 was itself a signifier of class origin amongst the group that results in a hierarchical stratification. This not only problematised the position of Transitions 20/40 within the broader Conservatoire, but also indicated that the initiative itself was a dominated culture or field within the Conservatoire building.

8.4 How Tamara viewed the RCS

To help position Transitions 20/40 within the broader conservatoire field, Tamara articulated how Transitions 20/40 looked from his perspective. He believed that the Conservatoire recognised the symbolic benefits of running an initiative like Transitions 20/40, in spite of the economic capital that the institution was required to invest in it.

[34] Costa is considerably more expensive than Greggs. At the time of writing a Greggs Sausage Roll cost 90p, while Costa introduced their first Sausage Roll after the fieldwork period had ended at the cost of £1.99. Prior to this you could expect to pay around £4 for a sandwich.

> GJS: Do you have an understanding of kind of the eligibility for Transitions 20/40? Do you know what it's kind of based on?
>
> Tamara: I am going to say in the wrong way.
>
> GJS: I don't care. There is no wrong way because I am asking you what YOU think it is.
>
> Tamara: To try and integrate people who normally wouldn't get into the Royal Conservatoire. People who can't afford two and a half grand to take courses to get them into the higher universities. People that are from quite run-down areas or low-income areas or low-income families: That's what I think it is, that's what I consider it to be. Just kind of trying to boost the social image of the Royal Conservatoire. It's genuinely what I think it is… which isn't a bad thing.
> ('Tamara', 1st Interview, Aged 17)

Tamara believed this situation was a *quid-pro-quo* for the Conservatoire. It was an outward facing initiative with considerable symbolic benefit for the institution that also benefited those who received the funded tuition. While genuinely appreciative of Transitions 20/40 funding, Tamara remained peripheral in the field, and was deeply cynical of the Conservatoire's motives by the point of his second interview.

8.5 One year on

> I work currently in [a supermarket], but that's just to keep money. I was travelling for a bit and noo I've got a place in [an unrelated college course]
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Almost a year and a half after the initial interviews Tamara and Ari had embarked on divergent trajectories. The participants' second interviews were conducted after what might have been their second year on Transitions 20/40. Tamara had, however, left the programme and at the time of interview almost a year had passed since his last involvement with the Conservatoire. His confrontational disposition and the lack of value he attributed to the symbolic capital gained from conservatoire participation contributed to his withdrawal from the programme. In contrast Ari adapted to the Conservatoire's existing practices and social structures, seeing value in acquiring social and cultural capital there, as the conservatoire learning environment was likely to be a

facsimile of her future field of employment. In accepting the cultural differences as conditions of the conservatoire field, Ari used her Transitions 20/40 status as leverage to negotiate a more advantageous position within it. She utilised the support structures available to Transitions 20/40 students to find different ways of using her funded hours and left the Junior Conservatoire pathway that had been the location of the stark class stratification described in the first interview. In her second year she undertook a bespoke pathway in which she participated in lifelong learning courses aimed at adults and young people, and participated in summer schools and weekly classes that were purposefully chosen by her. In doing so, she returned to her initial intention for her Conservatoire study to be focused and vocational, complimenting her pragmatic habitus. After she completed a year on the bespoke pathway, Ari successfully applied for undergraduate study in production at the Conservatoire.

> Ari: I've finished school and I'm starting university soon, here. I'm coming here to do [a degree] course.
>
> GJS: Well done! Excellent. So, we'll come back to that. How was sixth year?
>
> Ari: It was great. It really was. I really consolidated a lot of my artistic skills during that time and it really got me a basis to then go on and do, like go and do my interview here and to build my portfolio and everything.
> ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Ari developed an ability to work progressively within existing structures and institutions, and affected change within them. In her school she set up a Fair Trade working group and an LGBTQ Committee, and had worked to raise awareness of social issues and change attitudes towards them. She met all of the Conservatoire's entry requirements after her 5th year exams, but despite her previous feelings about school, she continued into a 6th and final year to prepare for conservatoire education in two ways: The first was to work on a portfolio for her audition and interview for her degree, and the second was to

prepare holistically for the transition into higher education by addressing her lack of confidence.

> I used it more as a personal reflective sort of year, to, because I struggle quite a bit with self-confidence and that sort of thing, so I used that to really encourage myself and surround myself with really positive things, and that's really when I started and, started my whole portfolio which I then used for my interview, so yeah, it's great.
> ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

The idea of carving out and committing to a preparatory year before conservatoire undergraduate study was an emergent theme explored in previous chapters. Ari used 6th year to step out of existing structures and focus on autonomous and holistic development, however this approach worked best for individuals who were at the specific age and stage, and who had a well-developed conceptualisation of the profession they wanted to move into. Ideally, they were still at school and not required to earn an income, or urgently embark on any accelerated career path. Tamara, having left school much earlier, did not have this luxury, and found himself in the situation where he had already exhausted economic and symbolic resources during periods of uncertainty by testing college courses and employment avenues. In contrast, Ari illustrated how effectively resources can be focussed on specific courses with lived (or inherited) knowledge of entry requirements, cultural priorities and the conventions of the field beyond. Without focus, Tamara's personal resources dissipated, in a similar manner to drama participants 'Katie' and 'Jen' during their cycles of audition and re-audition. Tamara was asked why he left Transitions 20/40, responding that it had nothing to do with course delivery, but rather a naiveté on their part towards what production actually entailed.

> Tamara: It was taught pretty well. They kept us engaged, kept us interested and pushed new things upon us which I liked. It's just the subject matter itself, it was too… in the back. I didn't really like it too much, do you know what I mean?
>
> GJS: In the backstage?

> Tamara: Aye. Too management orientated. And I don't like working with a team necessarily. That's why I'm dayin' [something more independent]. It wasnae for me. It was good, it was interesting. It was a lesson learned.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara shelved the experience of Transitions 20/40, and was still to find a trajectory at the time of their second interview. In addition to the differing focus of their transitional years between school and college or university, Ari and Tamara also took different things from their mentor and PLP meetings. Ari expanded on her relationship with her mentor beyond the process of changing her learning pathway.

> I had a few mentors, because I got a [student] mentor and she talked me through a lot of stuff that helped me throughout sixth year and helped me with my portfolio, and she basically gave me a lot of good advice for interviews here and then I had [another tutor] as another mentor that would e-mail me like weekly just to catch up and everything which was really nice, and then I was constantly here throughout 6th year, to do the short courses as well, so that helped just to be around the place and then like seeing everybody and talking to them.
> ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

While Ari drew on the knowledge of a student who had been through the application process and the expertise of the teaching staff in the production department, Tamara was predictably candid.

> They were awrite. You always get them in these kinda things. It's good to talk aboot what you want and what you want to be and stuff like that, but I already dae that wi masel. I look at masel in the mirror and ask those questions, so I kinda know the answers already, and I know what I need to do to get there. But obviously for some people it might have been different, they might not have known the answers to their dreams I guess. I don't have a problem with it, they're not useful to me necessarily but it's nice to talk. ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Ari had an undergraduate student mentor who effectively guided her throughout 6th year with portfolio preparation and social acclimation in the Conservatoire. Tamara was resistant to any external input offered towards pursuing questions that he felt he had already asked of himself and devoted sufficient thought to, despite having a less developed idea of what his career

path should be. Tamara's personal philosophy was perhaps a reaction to the patterns of reproduction he had witnessed around him, to the extent that he seemed to perceive focusing on one specific career path as conformist. He had seen peers exist in a cycle that often ended with unrealised ambitions and an inevitable return to a 'normal'. He saw this as a broader issue in the way Scottish education and society was structured, dramatically reducing the currency of intellectual or creative ambition to the point that they were almost worthless.

> Tamara: I think college is different from school when it comes to critical thinking that it's even pursued at all. I don't think critical thinking is encouraged at all in school. It's kinda… you're a drone. A textbook copier. That's about it. But again, I don't think it's pursued enough in college still. You know? That's the reason that China are beating us, because they think being smart is sexy, it's cool. We don't. It's no encouraged enough.
>
> GJS: What kind of big things do you think would change that?
>
> Tamara: I dunno… that's a hard question. Encouraging people to look beyond their parameters and their interests. Science especially should be, everybody looks at science as you know, something scary, but you can be involved as little and large with science as you want. I don't know lots about science but I know about Lawrence Krause and Stephen Hawkings [sic] and that's what I'm interested in, physics. I couldnae tell you the first thing but I'll listen tae a lecture or a debate or podcast. We need to start the quest for knowledge rather than sitting in our wee box saying 'I know this, I'm good at this' and get out there.
>
> GJS: It's funny. Because these lectures on physics are more accessible than they've ever been. Why do you think the majority aren't necessarily going for these things?
>
> Tamara: It's challenging. It's easier just to sit at home and watch the Kardashians because you know what they're talking aboot to a certain extent. Like we aw desire material things, and who's got the most material things? The Kardashians! So, you get to look at them and kinda feed the hunger in our minds for possessions a wee tiny bit. I don't know. It's hard breaking the mundane when you're 40 and you've got two kids and if you quit your job you won't be able to feed those two kids, so you kinda need to just take care of yourselves. As Terence McKenna said, as the bonfire of enlightenment gets brighter the surface area of ignorance grows more… somethin' else.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara suggests a seismic shift in Scottish political thought to change the way education is structured and valued, but his garbled McKenna quote indicates that his personal philosophies are not as fully formed as he would have led us to believe. Tamara intentionally opens up several challenging lines of enquiry, particularly around identity politics, that would merit entire chapters on their own, for example 'PC culture is really hitting us hard. It's stupit.' (Tamara, 2nd Interview). Given the dissonance that this holds with the entire widening participation agenda, my own habitus, and the institutional discourse, it is fair to ascribe this as 'difficult to hear' (James, 2015). However, it was clear that Tamara thought deeply, and looked for meaning in culture. He welcomed intellectual challenge, and sought to be pushed into unfamiliar territory. Why then was the Conservatoire un-assailable for him?

8.6 Lunchtime distinction

The second interviews revisited the subcultural signifiers, and in particular the lunchtime choices of Ari's fellow Junior Conservatoire students. Although no longer on the Junior Conservatoire, Ari expanded on the initial observations of this most trivial of class stratifications. The Costa group were seen to have more economic capital and a more effortless conservatoire habitus. However, Ari spoke of how they actually disengaged with the Junior Conservatoire as they became more serious and focussed on undergraduate study.

> Ari: A few of the people that went to Costa, they actually dropped out halfway through, because they thought that it was too much of a commitment because they were starting uni soon, because they were a bit older and, but, yeah it still continued.
>
> GJS: I just loved that, because it said so much. The Costa group, were they not necessarily doing production arts at university or were they…?
>
> Ari: A lot of them were going on to do the specialisms so you had somebody who was really interested in [one element of production] that actually went to [a university], and somebody who was really interested in [another element of production] and went to do an actual, just a [specific] course somewhere else, so they all branched off just to do the specialisms that they were interested in.

> GJS: And eh, the Greggs group. Where is everyone?
>
> Ari: Two of them I think went to, actually stayed here and are on [Conservatoire degrees], so they'll be in second year when I'm in first year, and then a few of them have just dropped off the side of the world, which you sort of expect somebody to do, because, yeah, he was a lovely guy, he really was but he didn't, he got very confused about like, about theatre and all the logistics of it, so yeah, he was a real character. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

It is notable that two other members of the Transitions 20/40 subfield, to Ari's knowledge, progressed onto undergraduate programmes at the Conservatoire, whereas the Costa group largely chose to study at other institutions, although wider conclusions should probably not be drawn from this. In discussing the student that 'dropped off the side of the world' it was probable that Ari was talking of Tamara, and that Tamara spoke of Ari when in reference to the un-knowing 'click' with other Transitions 20/40 students. Ari returned to the issue raised in her first interview regarding the economic stratification in the production cohort, and the disconnection she felt with the projected realities and subjective problems of the non-Transitions students she was studying with.

> It got to the point where the Transitions people were actually almost, not mocking, not in like a mean way, but just like digging at the fact that these people were very privileged because one of the people came in one day and was completely outraged and said that her maid had stole her earing, and [laughs] and was going on about how, how this is terrible and her dad's going to have to sue this maid and all this. [laughs] and all these Transitions people that have their Greggs bags, well not even a bag because we couldn't even get a bag that costs 5p [laughs] and we were just sort of sitting there like, I couldn't even afford a lawyer to sue, never mind about like a maid or anything like that. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara also reported little change in the cultural divide over the remainder of his time on Transitions 20/40, but was characteristically quick to relate his experiences within a conservatoire cultural system to broader issues in society.

> Tamara: It kinda stayed the same, stagnated. You see it everywhere, it's no something that's different fae in here and oot there. It's funny to observe. They wurnae bad people, just hud different opinions on things and maybe grew up in different environments which warped their minds differently, but I hink we're mare accessible to getting out of that frame of mind.
>
> GJS: Why's that?
>
> Tamara: Like they, their frame of mind is very much stubborn, but people like me on my side of the divide, I think we have mare access to broaden our viewpoint and slant our perception. That's what I gathered fae that, because the people I talked to on my side of the line were mare open to different ideas and discussion and argument. The other people were kinda trapped into their little safe space.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara saw 'his side of the divide' as having more autonomy, because 'his side' experienced less pressure to conform to legitimised structures. Tamara, precisely because of his lack of economic investment and burden of history, felt able to explore possibilities that were unthinkable to those who had more at stake in the game- and had a vested interest in preserving a status quo with reproductive tendencies that work in their favour. Bourdieu also spoke about this in the field of cultural production, where a lack of economic capital and institutional consecration was equated with autonomy, artistic freedom and the symbolic returns valued in the arts (Bourdieu, 1993, p49). Ari also started to exude an air of lightness, unhindered by expectation in the second year of Transitions 20/40, but reconciled this with her place in the Conservatoire, rather than using it as a cause for withdrawal from the field.

> GJS: Could you relate to that problem and could you see that particular person relating to any of your day-to-day issues?
>
> Ari: I mean, there was an awareness, definitely, of each of our's stance, but there wasn't really an understanding as much, and it was, yeah, it was very segregated in that sort of sense.
>
> GJS: That is something that I've picked up on talking to a couple of production students actually.
>
> Ari: Mmm-hhh. Does anybody give the maid story before?

> GJS: No. They didn't, but yeah. It's very interesting. So…the kind of difference that existed between the two of you, did that continue throughout Transitions? Was it too much of an issue or was it … friendly mocking?
>
> Ari: It happened only in Juniors. […] I would say that it was a lot more present in Juniors, and it was teenagers and it was not being able to relate to people who weren't as the same sort of status as you, so yeah. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

The social divide was only present in the Junior Conservatoire, and seemingly lessened as she undertook the more bespoke pathway of evening and summer schools populated by students with broader ranges of ages and economic and social circumstances.

> I found that short courses had a very good age range because you had older people that had retired and were just looking for something to do, but you also had like, students at high school that were just coming along because their parents were going or came along because they found it interesting, and I really preferred that because you go to get all the sort of broad spectrum of the artistic skill and looking at how they all went about the same sort of thing, but in a different way, and it was just, yeah, I really enjoyed that yeah […] I was doing it off my own back, and I signed up for the courses that I wanted to sign up instead of just showing up every weekend or every other weekend. For the Juniors it was more like it was scheduled and I knew exactly what I was gonna do and at this point I wasn't doing too many qualifications so I had a lot for free time to like prepare for it all and it was a lot easier. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

When Ari raised this cultural divide in the Junior Conservatoire with her mentor, it did not surprise them.

> I discussed it with [my mentor] and she got it straight away, she was like 'Yeah I totally see that' but she thought that it was, it wasn't too much of a problem because we're still able to communicate and we're still able to do our job so yeah. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Teaching staff recognised this divide, but believed it to be workable in the sense that it would/should not interfere with core pedagogic activity. Ari also saw it as a social reality to be worked around. Tamara, in contrast, believed it

to be an inescapable condition of society at large and a cultural pattern that was mirrored in the creative industries (Brook, O'Brien and Taylor. 2018).

8.7 Cultural distinction

Conservatoire artistic disciplines generally require the physical presence of the audience and the performer, but screen and the production arts are experienced differently. Appreciation of ballet, opera or western art music requires knowledge of codes, cultural narrative, performance conventions, and even how to dress and behave. As a result, those native to these fields are predisposed to participate in these art forms and social contexts, whereas people on Tamara's 'side of the divide' are not. However, this was not to say Tamara's 'side of the divide' did not participate in culture more broadly, rather that culture could be legitimised and codified in different ways in different fields. Tamara valued recorded music, live music, films and books, which are equally codified and have more cultural worth in the social context in which they are accessed. As discussed earlier, objectified cultural capital signifies membership of the cultural group to which the individual belongs, and while Ari and Tamara appreciate a range of codified artistic work, their social context, and habitus, predispose them towards some artistic work more than others. Tamara in particular spoke of his passion and participation in alternative rock, outsider music, reggae, painting and gonzo journalism.

> It's hard. When it comes to music and film and stuff like that, when you're, there's two sides to the divide, there's poor and better off. We've got mare time to binge watch films and music because we've no got money for much else, so maybe that's why? That's a really dumb answer. I'm reachin' for somethin', because it's hard. I don't know why. ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

8.8 Reachin' for somethin'

Ari spoke in depth about 'another' person that the researcher believed to be Tamara, though the relationship was never confirmed in protecting confidentiality of participants. Even within the cohort, and illustrative of the sociological imagination present in both of these participants, Ari spoke about

her friend and gave her own reasons as to why he may have withdrawn from the programme.

> Ari: Yeah, I think it was always gonna happen. He signed up for the course just, I think it was partly for a laugh and partly because he didn't really have anything to do, and we actually really, I think he actually really enjoyed it… he…
>
> GJS: So is this one specific person?
>
> Ari: Yeah, em… cause he, he actually wanted to be a writer and he wanted to travel the world and I think he just came here for a bit of life experience really, but he really brightened it up quite a bit because it was so light and he was just really, because he was just such a character it just brought a real essence to the whole thing.
>
> GJS: When you say light, do you mean in terms of the level that the chat was at?
>
> Ari: Yeah, because he came from quite a deprived place as well, so he was like the extreme to this girl who had her maid, so it was really interesting watching them interact with each other.
>
> GJS: How did that go?
>
> Ari: There were quite some debates sometimes as to humanitarian issues and quite political stuff, but yeah, yeah it was really interesting.
>
> GJS: Do you think both sides in that debate considered their arguments or had one side maybe …
>
> Ari: I think so. I think so, because this person was so down to earth that everybody kind of had to understand him. Yeah. He was great.
>
> GJS: Do you think there could be more of that character and personality in a place like this?
>
> Ari: Definitely, and I think Transitions really opens that door for them sort of people, because it's, it allows people who don't want to commit all their money and all their time to something that they don't even know if they'll enjoy or whether it'll take them further, so I think it opens the door to that sort of really character filled, light-hearted education sort of thing.
> ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Ari attached significance in being flexible when widening access to the Conservatoire, to give more people the chance to participate fully in the way that those with reserves of economic capital do; as a holistic educational and developmental experience. Ari and Tamara were able to explore different avenues, access opportunities, and in Ari's case, find learning trajectories that suited them after a short period of trial and error. This situated experience would not necessarily have been possible for Ari without Transitions 20/40, and it propelled them into a field populated by people who could afford to attend the Junior Conservatoire without a specific vocational purpose. Ari attested to not only the worth of this to the individual, but also the worth to the cohort and institution as a whole. However, Tamara recognised a two-way cultural dissonance.

> Tamara: I've accepted that people don't necessarily understand my ideas or don't want to understand my ideas because they don't like them if they do understand them. I just take it in my stride and laugh, but it's fun. I like to annoy people. I like to push their buttons. I don't like people being too comfortable.
>
> GJS: Did you feel people were too comfortable in here?
>
> Tamara: In their ain hieds, aye.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara's suggestion that the dominant culture wilfully avoids cultural dissonance (Gay, 2018) presents an uncomfortable truth about the Conservatoire that cannot be avoided if the institution is to meaningfully widen access to its cultures by reflecting the demographics of broader society.

8.9 Cultural dissonance

Tamara questions if the divide within the wider field of cultural production was bridgeable within the framework of Transitions 20/40. He doubted there was an institutional understanding of societal inequality outside of the conservatoire field, and a real commitment to work meaningfully for people of working-class origins from the most deprived areas. Tamara suspected that motivation lay mainly in the symbolic capital gained by the Conservatoire, and

of course in the economic capital from the SFC. In the second interview Tamara is read a quote from his previous interview where he stated that he believed the institution was trying 'to integrate people who normally wouldn't get into the Royal Conservatoire' but also that 'it was just kind of trying to boost the social image' of it.

> Tamara: That is it. I was right. I was a smart child. Nah, it's just PR. Which is awrite, because they're essentially a brand that wants to grow and they need to dae stuff like that. It's twisted in a way but that's the way of the world.
>
> GJS: Do you think there is still merit in it, in ways people can benefit from it in the sense that they are getting a two and a half grand course paid for them?
>
> Tamara: Aw, of course.
>
> GJS: Do you think it could be beneficial both ways?
>
> Tamara: It is aye. Kind of. It's definitely beneficial, it's just kinda snakey in the same sense.
>
> GJS: By not calling it what it is?
>
> Tamara: It's like geein' a homeless guy a fiver while having a camera pointed in your face. It's good for the homeless guy, but it's also very good for you. So… but people definitely benefited from it, like even on ma course. Which is good. […]
>
> GJS: See your pal, are they still doing it?
>
> Tamara: Aye, aye. They went in to actually dae the proper degree. So they benefited a lot.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Ari legitimised her position in the conservatoire field by understanding and choosing to adhere to the doxa. While not opposed to the doxa, Tamara felt opposed to aspects of conservatoire culture that were part of the institutional habitus. Certain aspects of conservatoire life particularly clashed with his habitus and his social origin. These included the grandiose associations of the

'royal' title. Even more problematic was his newness to the increasingly diverse student population within the institution.

> GJS: Some of the observations you had about the building last time as well, like the photo of the queen [mother] and the royal prefix, and you did say it was out of your social standing, which I found… interesting. What did you mean by that?
>
> Tamara: It's just, you don't walk doon the buildings in my area and see stuff life like that [points to photo on wall of student in make-up and feather boa] do you know what I mean? You see photies of the local fitba team, you know? Old punters fae the pub that have died and hud their picture hung up. You don't see pictures of the queen in ma area. Not at aw, the building gets burnt doon. It's weird. It's changed noo though. Society has changed noo in general, we need to be mare safe about what we, what image we show, because people will attack it like that kinda stuff.
> ('Tamara', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Tamara struggled in the Conservatoire because it did not go far enough in either direction: it neither helped Tamara negotiate the cultural 'divide' that he perceived between his field of origin, both in physical signifiers of the grander 'institution' or in softer, symbolic and socially constructed sources of alienation, nor did it appear to meaningfully recognise his own unique prior learning and vernacular, open, often challenging artistic and academic perspectives. Ari, despite facing barriers, made the Conservatoire her own and gained a profound insider knowledge of how its processes and structures prepared her for undergraduate study. She positioned herself to be able to choose the Conservatoire as much as it chose her.

> I love the way that it all works. I love the logistics of the Conservatoire and how they do it all in house and so you're seeing the same people everyday, which is quite good for somebody who doesn't remember a lot of faces, who doesn't remember a lot of names, and I guess it just, I thought that it would be a really good foot in the door and they have like really good statistics, so I thought 'Well, yeah'. ('Ari', 2nd Interview, Aged 18)

Ari, in completing her transition in the undergraduate Conservatoire, reveals a functionalist side to widening access that returns to many historical perceptions of the conservatoire's purpose, as a place where coded practices

are learned in preparation for a highly technical vocation. It is an interesting image, echoing the cult of technique- somewhat ominous and deterministic, but equally controlled and verifying. Is this really what the limits of a programme like this should be, or should more open, less institutionally legitimised perspectives and practices also be included?

8.10 Conclusion

Ari and Tamara both came from the 20% most deprived SIMD datazones in Scotland, and unlike many of the other participants, did not have economic capital at their disposal. At the Junior Conservatoire of Production, Ari and Tamara came face to face with a multitude of new ideas, processes and learning cultures. While strict technical proficiency and knowledge of historical context were valued in other art forms where the conventions of the discipline were bound by centuries of highly codified tradition, screen and production allowed for more freedom and exploration, the teaching of which was notably distinct from the participants' prior experience of formal education. However, they still experienced a cultural dissonance, most notably amongst a student cohort with peers who exhibited an affluence and unrelatable cultural perspective. The participants established almost subcultural roles in the field, using symbolic signifiers to locate each other as outsider allies with a similar habitus and established the common ground and shared values between them.

However, in successful transition, Ari was still subjected to a degree of habitus reformulation to legitimise her participation at the Conservatoire; she worked out what was expected of her at a symbolic level as well as an institutionalised one. Ari reformulated to affect change by working within existing structures, decoding much of the Conservatoire's less controllable exclusionary practices and aspects that were enacted in an almost tribal way. Conceding that the Conservatoire field overlapped with the professional one, her ability to work within the doxa was a more constructive and sustainable approach than Tamara's directly confrontational one, despite Tamara having

clear potential for critical thought and creative flair. Ari started with little agency but was now legitimised in the field, with the ability to change the constitution of it from a position of power. Tamara had started headstrong and sure of what he believed, but was resistant to external input, and unwilling to bend. As a result of the dissonance his participation had with the dominant institutional habitus, he remained on the periphery. Going forward, it is asked if continued conservatoire participation should depend on an individual's ability to capitulate or conform to the dominant values of the institution, or if the institution should be taking more notice of the individuals that are coming from diverse backgrounds? As a point of basic moral transparency, it feels like this should be the latter, especially if this continuing work is to refute Tamara's view of Transitions 20/40 as a glorified PR exercise.

9. Legitimizing difference in the conservatoire

Reformulating the institutional habitus

> There are 189 students on Transitions now, but the job is not done. There are still whole pockets, even with this city, of young people who are not being reached, because again, it's that whole thing of 'It's not for me. I don't know anything about it. I don't know anyone who goes there and I'm certainly not walking in that door' (Transitions 20/40 Team Member)

This discussion has looked at pre-tertiary conservatoire transitions in different artistic disciplines, and the varied participant experiences have provided a critical perspective on the intersecting fields of distinct art-form cultures and learning pathways within this interdisciplinary conservatoire. We have seen that transitions into, through and out are frequently informed by the implicit doxa of the artistic fields, and understanding the differences between them helps to isolate the particularly problematic aspects of the social and cultural organisation of the institution for marginalised students.

Even within this sample of participants specifically recruited to a widening access intervention because of their residence in deprived areas, there were those who embody the dominant, legitimised institutional habitus more than others, and experience a much smoother transitions into the institution, despite multiple other factors still impacting on continued engagement and participation there. It would have been easy, given my interest and involvement, to amplify these stories as the defining discourse of Transitions 20/40 and framing the intervention as an unequivocal success to be unreflectively duplicated in other institutional contexts. However, this would be at odds with the critical lens I have taken. While much of Transitions 20/40's work has been vital and transformative, supporting SIMD 20/40 students, and giving many of them opportunities to pursue conservatoire education that would not have otherwise existed, there were also a significant number of

participants for whom this was not an opportunity at all, who were de-selected, or who de-selected themselves from conservatoire participation because they had already missed out on conservatoire-legitimised prior experience even before the Junior Conservatoire, or because the hidden social organisation of the pre-tertiary conservatoire often implicitly worked to alienate them, as working-class, BAME or other non-traditional students. These accounts seem to carry the most significance if the Conservatoire is to continue to evolve, and authentically take widening access seriously. Widening access should be about access to the arts in all their diversity, regardless of whether individuals continue into HE or not, and there is a tension between celebrating diversity and accessibility, and recognising the very real policy and funding implications of ensuring Transitions 20/40 leads to conservatoire transitions for these marginalised groups.

9.1 Looking beyond deductive outcomes

This fieldwork saw a quantifiable lack of Conservatoire transitions from the lowest ranked SIMD quintiles among the sample: production student Ari was the only SIMD 20 participant out of 47 to transition into any undergraduate conservatoire. However, the complexity and diversity of the participant experiences indicates how reductive a conflation of SIMD ranking with successful negotiation of the artistic and educational fields would be. Perhaps SIMD ranking is better understood as the *probability* of prior access to a specific *type* of cultural participation that connects and predisposes participants to the dominant conservatoire habitus: a type of cultural participation characterised by inherited experience of HE, of the arts, involvement in both formal and non-formal artistic practices, access to performances and practitioners, and an existing conceptualisation of the professional field. None of these situated experiences can be bought or simulated, and are embedded (or not) within every individual, so we should therefore ask how the conservatoire can also work for those without these specific characteristics by virtue of their symbolic inheritance or prior learning.

9.2 Participant transitions

Much like the tertiary conservatoire, participant withdrawal was frequently arbitrary: the result of insufficient experience or prior knowledge of legitimising institutional practices and doxa, either through a habitus-based resistance to them, or through a socially constructed distance from them. The majority of participants who transitioned into the senior conservatoire knew the institutional expectations as a constituent element of their habitus, while those without relevant prior participation or inherited dispositions found the hidden expectations of the pre-tertiary conservatoire to be alienating and differentiating, and socially reproductive of existing class-based power relations (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). This is the most important point to make to those who might proclaim Juniors participation to be the only solution to the problem of widening access to the Conservatoire: the Junior Conservatoire is essentially a fee-paying school, and *still* requires prior participation in the institution or its surrounding cultural fields, with all of their implicit doxa. Transitions 20/40 students were largely placed in an institution where there will most likely always be a hierarchy, and reproduction of class demarcation, not just because of economic costs, but also as a result of middle and upper-class dominance, as parents commonly seek educational advantage for their children through extensive private tuition, school selection and broader cultural participation (Montacute and Cullinane, 2018).

This embeds a dominant habitus of what Johnny called entitlement or belonging in the Junior Conservatoire, which it must be stressed is not a bad thing in itself, but from which some Transitions 20/40 participants frequently looked to distinguish themselves, or withdraw from, as they could never pretend to be of it. The Junior Conservatoire simply replicates existing Conservatoire learning cultures and practices, and despite working with younger students, still works best for those who can already decode them, whether through existing knowledge and mastery of western classical music, participation in Scottish Ballet, or situated experience of a broad range of cultural modes. Correlated to SIMD ranking, the result of increased

marginalisation of arts education in Scotland, the propensity towards full Junior Conservatoire participation was as much the result of individual dispositions and capital gained through funded immersion in the field over a long period of time as the undergraduate equivalent, and frequently intersected with social class, gender, age, ethnicity and race.

So, the discussion now expands on the experiences of participants' harbouring more traditionally working-class dispositions in the Junior Conservatoire, who were undervalued by the overarching, dominant institutional habitus, and subjected to institutionally enacted symbolic violence based on the embedded and embodied signifiers of their social and cultural origin, especially in the Junior Conservatoire, where participants were aware of the distinction between 'them' and 'us', exemplified in Tamara's 'very clear divide'.

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9.3 A tale of two Transitions 20/40s

Dependent on what side of the divide participants found themselves on, the participants' structural origins were found to facilitate or obstruct their legitimisation in the Junior Conservatoire's *learning culture*, previously defined as the day-to-day social and cultural processes that frame learning (Perkins, 2013b). This dimension, in combination with race and class identity, was a determining factor in the withdrawal of Rizzo, Tanya, Angela, Simon and Tamara from conservatoire participation, despite not being directly linked to SIMD ranking or transmitted as explicit areas of demarcation in the institution's formal admissions processes or curriculum. This invisible exclusion is enacted by de-legitimising the vernacular and accessible cultural experiences of SIMD 20 students in particular, magnifying the unequal range of starting points within the cohort, and perpetuating class-based reproduction in the Conservatoire. Among the participants in the research sample, prior artistic experience had been gained in a variety of ways: through amateur and professional experience, formal ensembles, youth theatres, instrumental instruction, dance companies, community centres, DIY music ensembles,

college courses, school shows, family intergenerational music making, private tuition, national companies, or even in the Junior Conservatoire itself. Participants already immersed in subfields that intersect with the Conservatoire, like Scottish Ballet, The National Youth Orchestra of Scotland or UK Theatre School also had social capital, while others who came through local amateur dramatics or community arts centres had to learn conservatoire rules *in situ,* and labour to make social connections in a place where they were already socially marginalised by their behaviours or signifiers of class-origin.

All participants who continued into the undergraduate Conservatoire engaged in a period of immersion, to move from the *periphery* (Lave and Wenger, 1991) or the dominated and heteronomous pole of the field (Bourdieu, 1993), to a place where they were autonomous, legitimised participants in their own right, engaging in *full participation* (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and authentic utilisation of their own prior experiences and habitus. However, those that become full participants, generally, had shorter distances to travel from the periphery, because of the head start their social and cultural capital gave them in the field. Although the length of this journey varied between artistic disciplines, it is reasonable to assume, based on participant experiences, that western art music and classical ballet, as the two most obvious proponents of '*the cult of technique'* had the longest distances between the periphery and full participation in the conservatoire field, as extensive private one-to-one tuition, physical conditioning and thousands of hours of solitary repetition were normalised and expected (Stabell, 2018). By comparison screen and production had relatively short distances between initial engagement and full participation, as vernacular cultural experiences are legitimised as prior learning as much as formal experiences in these artistic fields. The acting field lies somewhere in the middle, with less requirement for subscription to the cult of technique, and a surface level prioritisation of an authentic habitus, regardless of background. However participant experiences show how this

can still be prescriptive and pre-determined, and still too protracted a journey for those who contend with 'real world' concerns.

The key – perhaps – is to find a way to shorten this distance, where possible, across all art forms, by asking which aspects of the journey are arbitrary and constructed for the sake of protecting the institutional hierarchies and power relations as they currently stand? This presents an opportunity to change the Conservatoire's socially-constructed role, as cultural arbiter, to not necessarily ask all prospective students to undertake a reformulation of their habitus to become legitimate participants, but for the Conservatoire, as an institution, to also take on this burden and recognise the social and cultural world within which it is located.

9.4 Valuing diverse prior experiences

There is therefore a choice, to undergo an institutional habitus reformulation, that requires a broad cultural audit and a relinquishing of power, recognising that peripheral participants in the Conservatoire (and in Transitions 20/40) do have a voice, but in diverse areas of the cultural field that do not necessarily connect with existing conservatoire learning pathways. Junior Conservatoire participation makes little practical sense for peripheral participants, regardless of their ability or potential in the broader cultural field, and therefore working towards legitimisation in the conservatoire field is simply not practical or logical if it means abandoning accrued capital, or changing aspects of their habitus. Even when individuals abandon their habitus, the labour required to connect their prior situated experiences with the consecrated conservatoire ones comes at a steep price. It should therefore be asked if this really was widening access in its truest form? Should participants who have less accumulated capital in the conservatoire field be expected to labour more than those that have inherited it?

As previously mentioned, particular artistic fields and learning pathways within the institution resonate more with the marginalised learner's prior

experiences, offering shorter distances from the periphery to full participation, but, like Nettl's (1995) concentric circles in Heartland U, these compatible fields and trajectories are often symbolically devalued, as seen through Rizzo's perception of Transitions 20/40 students among fee paying musical theatre students, or still emerging within the institutional hierarchies, as seen in Sandra's experience with the relatively new 'juniors' composition pathway. It should be said, that the RCS, in contrast to some (but not all) other conservatoires has seen a gradual evolution of its institutional habitus (Duffy, 2013), with the introduction of successive new programmes and disciplines discussed in the introduction (Scottish Music, CPP, Research, DFTV, Musical Theatre, Modern Ballet, Jazz) each bringing its own variation to the mix. A shift in the codified practices and conventions can already be seen, but further centring of these, as an institutional priority on a par with the western classical paradigm, would significantly assist in more genuinely 'opening up' the Conservatoire.

Four speculative suggestions can already be made, based on the experiences of participants and lived experience in the field. Firstly, greater recognition of informal/non-formal learning in the pre-tertiary conservatoire would aid those who have learned collaboratively and purposefully, but independently of institutions and the associated capital that comes with this. Secondly, appreciation of what can be drawn from these practices, particularly in the fields of contemporary commercial or popular music, at degree level. This is now an established area of scholarship in HE (Dylan-Smith et al, 2017) and focuses not just on performance excellence, but incorporates areas of production and composition, and has long since adopted peer-learning practices as a convention of the field (Green, 1988). The rewards of this could be reciprocal, to an increasingly uncertain professional field, that would surely benefit from and welcome the kind of artistic development that a conservatoire would be able to facilitate, and would more effectively prepare graduates for the diverse creative practices that are found in the professional field. Thirdly, a less condescending attitude towards classroom music, drama and dance in

schools, and a focus on preparing teachers across disciplines who are courageous and flexible in their approach to teaching (Allsup, 2016), recognising the potential for transformative initiation into the arts, and working better to influence and connect with new literacies in music technology and composition especially (Partti, 2014). Fourthly, a less snobbish attitude to amateur music making contexts (Finnegan, 1989) which attributes value to these experiences, and creates opportunities for learners to access conservatoire learning later in life, connecting the institution more firmly with the social context in which it is situated. This already seems to be embedded in some fields (i.e. brass band culture and traditional music, especially through Gregor's experiences), but opportunities should be sought in others. It is through these sub-fields of cultural production that constructive and transposable models can augment the Conservatoire's closed practices and conventions across all disciplines.

9.5 Legitimate artistic participation in the conservatoire's learning cultures

Another area of differentiating knowledge amongst participants is in the appreciation of the conservatoire's unique learning cultures (Perkins, 2011, 2013b). As has been previously highlighted, conservatoires employ a curriculum that is distinct from traditional HE, with unique priorities, legitimised practices and doxa (Stahl, Burnard and Perkins, 2017). Conservatoire training explicitly eschews traditional academic approaches in favour of more practical and embodied approaches to learning and teaching in the arts, and the assumption has generally been that this favours those for whom traditional HE is harder to reach. However, this research shows that the implicit requirements of Conservatoire admission are equally culturally stratifying- equal numbers of participants went on to university as continued in the Conservatoire. Although the Conservatoire is ostensibly unconcerned with applicants' traditional institutionalised cultural capital (in the form, for example, of exam results), the artistic habitus and types of prior learning the

participants bring transmits a more symbolic hierarchy of tastes and socialised practices that legitimise their admission to the Conservatoire.

This was again visible in the case of Rizzo, who spoke candidly about her 'drama wean' side that loves 'Hamilton' and Netflix binges, but holds little currency with the other JCoD students in their critical discussion of 'Fiddler on the Roof', of which she had no knowledge. Rizzo's cultural preferences were based on what she had access to and connected with, and she found these to be de-legitimising in the Conservatoire. Similarly, Katie's inauthentic delivery of a Shakespeare monologue in her audition was based on a misrecognised, un-situated, peripheral understanding of a conservatoire habitus, and to pre-empt any de-legitimisation, Katie attempted to in-authentically conform to her unfounded perception of the field's expectations and was critiqued and unravelled by a consecrated insider. Similarly, in an additional piece of research commissioned by Transitions 20/40, I approached a number of applicants who did not attend interviews.[35] Amongst these responses was one who had previously attended an audition at the Conservatoire and saw an audition panellist mouth a condescending 'really?' when she explained how much her audition song meant to her, communicating quite clearly that her tastes were seen to be inferior. As a third example, a colleague who worked at a youth centre mentored a particularly promising young singer who used a pre-recorded backing track from her phone in her Junior Conservatoire audition. She was again met with palpable snobbery, was told there was no way to play it through speakers, and after it cut out, was offered no second chance. She was put off for life.

So while it could be argued that the Conservatoire's own unique brand of 'contextualised admissions' and practical approach allows participation in HE to be more embodied and less focussed on prior academic success, there are still hidden rules within the field that distinguish those who belong and those who do not, even in the Junior Conservatoire. Would it be possible now to not

[35] See Appendix 13 for small research project on audition and interview No-Shows.

only make these hidden rules explicit, but also to challenge the arbitrary nature of their very existence?

9.6 Stratification and momentum

Legitimised conservatoire learning and teaching is characterised by the intention of transferring lived, situated learning experiences not only from, but between professionals, and this transference is both technical and socio-cultural. This approach to learning and teaching has evolved to create seemingly effortless practitioners that trust their instincts and habits, learned from consecrated practitioners in legitimised artistic traditions and pedagogies. The emphasis for participants is for them to be able to 'do' art. Participant transitions are therefore best understood as part of an ongoing apprenticeship of both practical and symbolic consecration that occurs *in situ*, which is intended to take the participant from a state of peripheral participation to an effortless legitimised state of full participation in the institutional field, exemplified perfectly in Gregor's case, occupying multiple roles simultaneously (teacher, student, colleague) and being able to function legitimately in numerous different musical contexts.

All conservatoire transitions in the research sample embodied this effortless practice by the point of their transition, but the experiences of the participants in this fieldwork demonstrated that the ability to 'do' art in the ways the Conservatoire requires often presupposes that participants have already learned the legitimised artistic doxa, and accrued cultural capital prior to, and in parallel with Junior Conservatoire, rather than being transferrable in the 150 hours of funded tuition that Transitions 20/40 provided. This was most visible in ballet, and it is in this regard that the social stratification in the conservatoire field was, in many cases, unable to be mitigated by Transitions 20/40.

There were resultant limitations to Transitions 20/40's capacity to steer participants who were truly on the periphery towards the Conservatoire's legitimised artistic and pedagogic practices, and most cases of conservatoire

undergraduate transition through the Junior Conservatoire used Transitions 20/40 in combination with previously accumulated momentum to propel them towards full conservatoire participation. Participants who combined situated prior experience with a legitimised conservatoire habitus already had this momentum, whereas participants who had diverse, sporadic, uncontextualized creative experiences on the periphery of conservatoire culture required a larger push, and considerable orientation to be able to catch up with the others. To compound this stratification, the favourable combinations of habitus and situated experience did not seem to be mutually exclusive in participants, as the embodied conservatoire habitus was often a constitutive result of having had situated prior experience, and vice versa. Therefore, momentum is cumulative, and actually reduces the need for support beyond the economic capital that funding provides; as one of *Tell Them for Me's* participants said 'bright people get on fine without help' (Gow, and McPherson, p99). For these participants the Conservatoire's legitimised learning cultures were not separate to their day-to-day life, but an integrated and natural part of it. For participants who truly began their Conservatoire learning on the periphery, without momentum or direction, legitimised conservatoire cultures and practices were alien and required energy to be directed away from artistic and technical development, and aimed towards comprehension and mastery of new cultures and social structures. As a result, this widening access programme, particularly the elements that were integrated within the Junior Conservatoire, worked best for those who had legitimised prior experiences, as dictated by the doxa of the conservatoire field.

9.7 The legitimised institutional artistic habitus in situated prior learning

The cases of Gregor and Heather illustrated the varying legitimacy attached to subfields in Chapter 4, specifically within the discipline of music, which on Transitions 20/40 was almost exclusively delivered through the existing JCoM. While Scottish traditional music and jazz pathways grew during the fieldwork period, both as specialisms and as optional routes to more diverse ensemble

experiences, ‘western art’ or ‘classical’ music remained as the dominant institutionally legitimised musical subfield, reinforcing the institution’s symbolic order (Burnard, 2015, p199). Gregor and Heather both perceived traditional music to be less formal and score-based, relying on internalised repertoire and stylistic individuality, and they emphasise how much ‘fun’ the traditional music classes were, in comparison to the seriousness of the hierarchical orchestra. If western art music is still the defining paradigm at the conservatoire, reflecting in some way its traditional status in society (Bourdieu himself described it as ‘pure art de excellence’ (1984) in Distinction, particularly in relation to the more distracted, socially concerned discipline of drama), those who master it, master the conservatoire.

Gregor’s inherited capital within the field makes the pre-tertiary Conservatoire natural to him, while Heather’s largely informal prior experiences are significantly undervalued. The institutional priorities and hierarchies discussed in their interviews show that within this dominant core of the conservatoire curriculum, technical mastery from a young age was considered ‘prior to’ individuality or authenticity, and performance capabilities were still largely judged in this context. Gregor indicated that sub-field hierarchies, or concentric circles, in the senior Conservatoire went beyond instrumental divisions, and are enacted between degree programmes (Scottish Trad, Jazz, Classical) to symbolically reproduce the dominance of the western art paradigm in the institutional field. Given the remarkable degree of choice his momentum afforded him, this ultimately affects Gregor’s transitional choice out of the JCoM, into the classical degree programme. In contrast, Heather had learned music aurally and from instrumental instruction in schools. She achieved a high degree of legitimisation outside the Conservatoire, being celebrated and recognised at a school and local authority level, confidently engaging in collaborative music making and even international performances, working across a number of styles and contexts. However, within the Conservatoire the western art tradition was inauthentically imposed on her as the legitimised institutional convention, while her previously legitimised

strengths and experiences were largely ignored. This act of symbolic violence results in her alienation and subsequent withdrawal from conservatoire education and triggers a crisis of artistic identity. It became increasingly unlikely Heather would reach a consecrated position in the conservatoire field competing with people who had spent their whole lives learning in conservatoire legitimised learning cultures, and whose artistic habitus was a resultant product of it.

In the process of undertaking this research, in identifying these structural hierarchies, and the lack of legitimacy that is afforded to the prior experiences of so many participants, there was a growing sense of predictability about participant trajectories, based on the observed correlation between situated prior experience, meta-literacy and immersion in the legitimised artistic field.

9.8 Reformulating the institutional habitus to recognise disparity

The contrast between participant experiences illustrates the disparity that was visible with Transitions 20/40, which could be seen as two very different initiatives depending on the positions of the participant. Without being too structuralist there was sometimes a degree of inevitability in participant trajectories, even amongst SIMD 20/40 students, based on whether they started in peripheral positions or were already fully legitimised participants in the field. Participants like Gregor, Johnny and Maureen, all SIMD 40, were habitually cognizant of the expectations and cultural conventions of the Conservatoire from their first interview and seemed more likely to continue in the Conservatoire than not, as their legitimate practice had been authentically learned and embodied in situated contexts.

Therefore, institutional reformulation is required to widen access meaningfully to those whose prior experience and momentum lie outwith the Conservatoire's legitimised pedagogies and practices, like Tamara, Simon, Heather, or Rizzo, all SIMD 20.

Interview data in this study suggests that there are approaches across disciplines that can be used to expedite the process of moving from the periphery of the institution for those with diverse experiences. Among the participants of this study at least, successful conservatoire transitions for peripheral students occurred when the institution took equal responsibility, with the individual, for navigating the field. While not a systematic feature of Transitions 20/40 across all disciplines, specific sub-fields occasionally did this, generally outwith the traditional structures of the Junior Conservatoire, by finding ways to use the momentum that more peripheral participants possessed by creating more flexible options for participants to aim towards.

The cases of composer Sandra and production artist Ari are examples of this. Sandra had a remarkably short journey from the periphery to full participation despite not fulfilling the legitimised discipline-specific criteria that music normally demanded at the JCoM; Ari had no prior specific theatre tuition- only art classes in school. These participants' prior learning was not disregarded, but built upon to create new legitimised facets of the conservatoire habitus in their own right: Sandra was able to participate in the JCoM, despite not specialising in musical performance in the usual JCoM way, and Ari's discipline required composite skills from a broad range of practical and accessible prior learning experiences that were unencumbered by culturally arbitrary codification. The experiences of Sandra and Ari, indicate that to facilitate more meaningful transitions for students from the most marginalised backgrounds, the Conservatoire should consider focussing on how it can support peripheral participants to build on *other* diverse situated experiences, even if these experiences have not yet been artistically, social or culturally legitimised in the traditional doxa of the conservatoire field. In legitimising the experiences of truly peripheral participants, a reformulation would be enacted through the diversification of the conservatoire habitus, both artistically and socially: essentially, the Conservatoire would seek, in small ways, consciously to reshape itself, and the practices it legitimises, rather than make that demand of those with whom it wishes to engage. The institution's own

historical dimension, as discussed in the introduction, offers some indication that such a reformulation IS possible, and historical precedent indicates that it is not something that should be feared.

10. Conclusion

10.1 The Enigma Variations

At the end of this project, I took a walk around the Conservatoire building to remind myself of what I was writing about. Casually sitting at the back of a Junior Conservatoire Symphony Orchestra rehearsal on a Saturday afternoon in the Stevenson Hall in the summer of 2019 was an entirely different experience to when I used to nervously sit in the same place during the winter of 2013. As the orchestra rehearsed Elgar's Enigma Variations, the social construction of the orchestra was visibly no different to what it had been in years prior, but the individuals that populated its ranks inevitably were. Participants in this research peppered the desks, recruited and funded to attend the Junior Conservatoire because they came from statistically identified areas of deprivation, and people from these statistically identified deprived areas were not adequately represented in the undergraduate Conservatoire.

Observing this orchestra six years after Transitions 20/40 began, the participants I recognised seemed native to their surroundings, and among the other privately and personally funded students, they were only identifiable because I knew who they were. I knew their backstories and the sometimes fragile and fortuitous manner in which they had initially found their passion for music, the challenges they faced in developing it, and the labour involved in gaining legitimate experiences to help them compete with those who were sitting next to them in the orchestra, who seemed unaware of any distinction. No-one looked out of place, and there was an assuredness and knowing confidence about each of them. Everything about them was congruous with the situation they were currently in.

There was a personal concession that perhaps the Conservatoire had completed this work before I had finished my thesis. Indeed- some recommendations made in this final chapter are already being addressed.

However, if this thesis has done its job and moves beyond institutional boundaries, this work is not finished, but is rather only beginning.

10.2 Progress made

The initial £1.5 million funding from the SFC for Transitions 20/40 ended in 2017 at the same time as this fieldwork, and following extensive quantitative and qualitative reporting, funding was initially renewed until July 2020, and again until 2021, with some caveats. Transitions 20/40 rebranded as Transitions, focussing specifically on SIMD 20 students in line with the COWA's policy (Scott, 2019). Other criteria like care experience and rurality are now recognised as a result of the collaborative efforts of this research and the work of the Transitions team[36]. Recognition of the distance from the periphery to full conservatoire participation has been addressed through earlier intervention music pathways aimed at primary aged students (7-11) and interdisciplinary Transitions activities have become increasingly common to build more robust social and cultural foundations within the Conservatoire. Staff have been hired specifically for their knowledge of the contemporary cultural industries and of new technologies; events, mentoring and tuition are increasingly accessible online and have become a necessity during the COVID-19 pandemic. Pedagogically, contemporary dance has been integrated into Transitions provision, diversifying the homogeneous ballet provision, and bespoke pathways in music have become increasingly common. Progress is reflected at degree level, with SIMD 20/40 representation in undergraduate entrants now around 30% (RCS, 2020a).

However, despite this undeniable progress, and the RCS has taken huge strides, we are still far from a point where anybody that has the potential and passion to succeed in the arts can legitimately and fairly participate at the Conservatoire.

[36] See Appendix 9, 10 and 11.

Returning to the orchestra rehearsal in the Stevenson Hall, it is important to acknowledge that this is one ensemble, rehearsing in one room, in one building of one institution in one very particular social, cultural and political context. I think back to 'Polly' and participants of this research who would still find being in that room excruciating, and how many others would be in this position in other performing arts institutions. People like 'Polly' who could play a pivotal role in connecting broader social groups, cultural practices and learning cultures, but did not have congruent experience to legitimise themselves within the pre-tertiary Conservatoire. This is why, despite the positive work Transitions 20/40 undertook, and the vital work Transitions continues to undertake, that attaching an exaggerated significance to 'observation only of a population of survivors' (Bourdieu, 1990, p191) fails not only those who withdrew, but downplays the habitus reformulation some of those who transitioned into the Conservatoire also undertook, and we should address this labour that is arbitrarily asked of students.

Watching one orchestra rehearsal communicates little about the performers, with all of their historicity, labour, support and internalised and durable dispositions. Rather, it demonstrates that the Conservatoire has incorporated those particular participants into its cultural systems, and embedded tacet knowledge of the orchestra's consecrated social conventions and clear aesthetic objectives. On that day, there was no voice from those for whom the intervention had not worked, or evidence that the Conservatoire had looked outwards to be engaged in broader society (Renshaw, 2013). I knew that the Transitions 20/40 team had done this, through my own participation, and visits to schools, FE colleges and regional hubs. I had also witnessed first-hand how many practitioners and classroom teachers still largely ignored Conservatoire correspondence because it 'isn't for us'. I wonder how many more participants could be in that room, having a meaningful artistic experience, if there were other ways of framing creative work, other than continually privileging modalities that perpetuate the symbolic dominance of the orchestra and western art music, or the historicity in other codified art

forms. Again, and this cannot be emphasised enough, these ways of creating are invaluable and should not be lost, but in centring widening participation, in taking it seriously, we need to first address the concentric circles (Nettl, 1995) and learning hierarchies (Perkins, 2013a, 2013b) that exist in the conservatoire, and ensure there is room for other, vernacular music, dance, production, screen and drama expression, that validates participants that come from the periphery.

10.3 Moving widening access from the periphery

> If widening access was as simple as opening the doors and letting everybody in, we would all have done that years ago […] I think we need to think about when people learn, about how people learn, about how we assess potential, and look at the curriculum, I think that would be a good idea. Again, it's that idea that if we just keep doing what we've been doing we'll be fine. Yeah, but the world moves and changes and people's expectations move and change and what people want to study moves and changes and I don't know that in some areas it's moving and changing in the way it probably needs to, and there still seems to be resistance to things. (Transitions 20/40 Team Member)

What should be considered in disseminating this research, is that Transitions 20/40 participants are not peripheral in broader society: they are broader society. Failing to include diverse prior experiences actually works to keep the Conservatoire on the periphery of society, a 'closed shop', distinguished by an elitist codification and class-based predisposition towards it. The fear is that the institution likes it this way, and the challenge laid out by this thesis is to prove this wrong.

Rising to this challenge would demand a display of fragility, humility and experimentation that have not been especially evident in prior studies of the conservatoire field (Nettl, 1995; Kingsbury, 1988). However, previous curriculum reform enacted by progressive individuals (Duffy, 2013) provides a precedent: The development and subsequent curricular inclusion of Jazz and Traditional Music degree courses at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland were a seismic shift for the institution (Dickson, J and Duffy, C. 2013). These

courses challenged legitimised practices, and even the recognised doxa of the field, by taking a more informal and ethnographically informed approach to pedagogy, as did the inclusion of the BA Performance in BSL and English for deaf theatre practitioners, and the prior development of Composition and Contemporary Performance Practice pathways to facilitate expression, originality and innovation. Challenging legitimised institutional norms has always begun with consecrated individuals making a conscious decision to expand what was accepted in the Conservatoire.

This fieldwork has shown that these programmes in particular, as well as the screen and production pathways in the pre-tertiary conservatoire, have served the participants in the research well, even if they were still subject to some degree of hierarchical dominance in the institution. It should be asked how far the institution is willing to take this agenda? Is it to find those already equipped or to equip those who are found? If the answer is the latter, there need to be more routes which connect to their prior learning experiences, cultural preferences, vocational aspirations and more significantly, the durable class-based dispositions and signifiers of social origin, and they need to be respected and prioritised at an institutional level, rather than left on the curricular periphery, at the bottom of the ladder in the vocational hierarchies. On the evidence of the present fieldwork, music therapy, sound production, sound design, popular music, community music, theatre facilitation and contemporary dance programmes could all have increased the number of conservatoire transitions if there were established trajectories from the pre-tertiary conservatoire, especially for participants from the most deprived SIMD 20 datazones. The good practice in widening participation found in the existing fields of composition, production and screen should all also provide evidence and inspiration on which to base future institutional change.

10.4 Research limitations

There is a recognition of the limitations of this research, fundamentally related to the emic approach and the non-generalisability of its findings. Many of these concessions stem from initial assumptions that were made about the SIMD and what it could/could not capture.

Size of sample/amount of data collected

Given the opportunity to conduct this research again, a smaller sample would have been recruited for longitudinal study. While there have been considerable benefits to casting the net wide, there are considerable amounts of untouched data that remain unreported. Focusing on a smaller, purposefully recruited sample would have further prioritised the emic perspective and allowed even more nuance and detail.

SIMD 20/40 does not mean 'working-class'

The SIMD has flaws, and although the sampling outlined in the methodology was conducted to accurately represent Transitions 20/40 as a whole, it is problematic to conflate SIMD 20/40 status with 'working-class' representation, for the purpose of direct theoretical comparison with Reay or Bourdieu's work. While significant players within the sample self-identified as working-class and were able to illuminate the lived experience of class exclusion in the conservatoire, few generalisable conclusions can be made from the actual numbers of SIMD 20/40 accessing degree programmes. This nuance should be recognised at an institutional level, when considering quantitative data, and other cumulative measures should also be counted.

Lack of attention given to other pertinent themes

The selection criteria of the initiative itself did not accurately identify all populations who are excluded from the arts or HE, and specific issues that have only been touched on in this thesis demand more research. For example, the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in conservatoires, the experiences of care-experienced young people, care givers, the homeless,

asylum seekers, disabled students and D/deaf practitioners. The intersectional issues of gender identity, representation and power structures within the conservatoire are still under-researched and, like each of these areas, deserve attention beyond the marginal status afforded in this thesis. Targeted recruitment would be required to explore these experiences through research and continue the evolving discourse on socially situated arts institutions.

10.5 Contribution to knowledge and answer to the thesis aims

This thesis has been successful in its broad aim to amplify a more diverse range of voices than has previously been heard in conservatoire research, and it has hopefully introduced more critical perspectives on the conservatoire's role in society and the role and value of widening participation within it. Insight has been gained on the hidden structures and hierarchies of the pre-tertiary conservatoire, particularly in this specific geographic and political context. Although many of the themes and issues that have emerged in this thesis are already being addressed in this particular institution, there are very clear lessons that can be learned across the conservatoire field, and it is hoped that a similar, transposable critical lens can be applied to other performing arts institutions. Returning to the research questions, facilitating SIMD 20/40 student participation in the existing formal structures of the pre-tertiary conservatoire appears to meaningfully widen access and participation to the Conservatoire to those who are already on this path, by virtue of prior experiences or inherited capital. Facilitating SIMD 20/40 student participation in the pre-tertiary conservatoire can better widen access and participation to the broader performing arts, only if it diversifies its curricular offerings, connects better with community arts initiatives, and listens to and watches work that is being conducted in classrooms, community centres and beyond- perhaps the Conservatoire should pursue further partnerships with these important sites of cultural production. While fluid and learner-centred approaches to widening access and participation connect better with peripheral participants, they do not always connect with the institutional

priorities of the tertiary conservatoire. This should be addressed, by ensuring there are appropriate undergraduate destinations through curricular alignment, and by looking at the ages and stages at which participants are required to join degree programmes. Finally, it has been shown that there are some discipline specific cultures or practices that needlessly work to amplify arbitrary distinctions between widening participation students and the existing conservatoire, and there are some discipline specific learning cultures that effectively reduce them. Discipline specific delivery teams and management should critique which parts of the learning cultures are arbitrary, and within their power to change.

10.6 Implications and recommendations arising from the research

To conclude, I provide a series of recommendations for conservatoires to embed meaningful widening access and participation work into their institutional identity.

Consider how art and potential is judged

Participants in this study had varied aesthetic preferences and conceptualisations. Care should be taken to not devalue creative experiences and artistic connections that exist outwith the legitimised conservatoire field. Bourdieu (1993) recognised that innovative voices generally came from relative obscurity and had to labour for autonomy and legitimisation in the artistic field. Conservatoires should not forget this, and value only technical mastery and adherence to conserved codes and practices.

Celebrate more varied destinations and uses of arts education

Within institutional rhetoric, promotional material, prospectuses and open days, the everyday transformative power of the arts should be centred, redressing the imbalance created by continually prioritising the glamourous performance career as the only successful outcome of a conservatoire education. Promote and celebrate graduates that work in community,

healthcare, educational and participatory settings as much as you celebrate those who go on to have prestigious performance careers.

Recognise that the Junior Conservatoire is vital, but not the only way

It should come as little surprise that some widening participation students experience a degree of social and cultural alienation within the highly respected Junior Conservatoire, an ostensibly fee-paying, private school. A radical solution would be remove all fees associated with the Junior Conservatoire, however the economic implications of this would be untenable. Even in removing fees for the participants in this research, prior experience was still evident in all participants who thrived in the Junior Conservatoire, with clear hierarchies of participation and snowballing of opportunities, while some other participants would have benefited greatly from more flexible approaches. In a commitment to lifelong learning, it should also be considered that not everybody is able to maximise on their creative potential this early in life, or in such a concentrated manner.

To widen access, bespoke approaches are essential.

Widening access activity should continue to focus on short courses, blended learning, mentoring, coaching and bespoke learning, and strive for this to become a fully legitimised aspect of the institutional habitus, despite the fluidity that it brings to the previously robust, but guarded hierarchical structure of the Junior Conservatoire. Care should be taken to determine what is best for each learner in their specific circumstances, and to legitimise their differences within the institution. However, care should also be taken to ensure that these short courses and lifelong learning routes are as legitimised in the conservatoire field as the Junior Conservatoire, with appropriate resourcing and symbolic value.

Consider recruiting smaller numbers of students

The pedagogical cornerstone of the conservatoire is specialism, which should be reflected back on each learner, especially in widening participation. Central

to achieving the aims of the previous recommendation, is that the determined targets of recruitment should perhaps be smaller, but focussed to allow more meaningful allocation of funding that also follows the student into undergraduate study, rather than labouring to inculcate large numbers into existing pathways to fulfil targets.

Most importantly, look outwards.

External engagement should not just be left to recruitment or marketing departments. Looking outwards should be an integral part of curriculum design: look at what cultural work is already being done in classrooms, community centres, youth clubs, pubs, clubs, venues, galleries, town halls, dramatic societies, social enterprises and charitable organisations. It is here that authentic foundations are laid for lifelong participation, and the conservatoire has a responsibility to ensure connection with anybody who genuinely strives to continue this creative work into a lifelong (or even professional) practice, because the conservatoire has the power and resources to further develop and strengthen them.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Research tools & ethical approval

Included here are the research instruments that received ethical approval for student interviews. These instruments were used primarily for the first interview, and the Summary Topics to be explored were used only as a guide. Beyond the initial interview, interview questions were inductive and constructed on a case-by-case basis, using participant 'prompt' cards kept for each interview (see Appendix 2)

Included in following pages:

- Participant interview participation cover letter
- Participant consent form
- Interview participant FAQs
- Summary topics to be explored in interview

Participant Interview Participation Cover Letter

Transitions 20/40- Interview Participation Cover Letter.

Dear Respondent,

You are invited to take part in a study of Transitions 20/40, the programme you are currently involved in at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland.

I am interviewing participants of Transitions 20/40 and would like to interview you in order to get a realistic picture of what the course is like for you and the other students, including both positive and negative experiences that you might have had and how you felt about the experience of applying for, and being on, the course. These interviews will make up part of the research I am conducting that I will submit as part of a PhD thesis.

You do not have to take part if you do not want to however I would be very grateful if you would consider being interviewed since the more students I am able to interview, the clearer a picture I can get of how the course has been for the students.

The interview should not last more than an hour, and will explore the following areas:

- Your social background- where you are from
- Your educational experiences outwith the RCS
- Your motivations for applying to Transitions 20/40
- Your experiences of the RCS
- Your creative life
- Your hopes for life after Transitions 20/40

Your course work or any future applications to study at RCS will not be affected by your decision to participate in these interviews.

Your interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. The reason for this is to ensure that your answers to the interview questions can be accurately written up (transcribed).

Your name and contact details will be stored separately and you will **not** be identified by name in any publication or presentation arising from this research. The recordings and transcripts of your interview will be destroyed following completion of the research study.

If you agree to be interviewed and for your views to be used, I ask you to complete a consent form on the next page prior to the interview taking place. This protects your rights and enables me to utilise your interview in my PhD thesis and any other publications.

Should you have any questions about any of this I am happy to answer any queries.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

Graeme John Smillie

E-mail: g.smillie@rcs.ac.uk

Participant Consent Form

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

CONSENT TO THE USE OF DATA

I understand that Graeme John Smillie is collecting data in the form of digitally recorded interviews for use in an academic research study at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

I give my consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

- I have read and understood the Interview Participant FAQs, have had the opportunity to ask any questions and have had these satisfactorily answered.
- My information will be kept in safe and secure storage at all times
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online, but I will not be identified in this.
- I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time before any publication of results of the study is made.

Signed by the contributor:_____ date:

Signed by the researcher:_____ date:

Researcher's name:
Graeme John Smillie

Supervisor's name:
Dr Stephen Broad

Department address:
100 Renfrew Street,
Glasgow
G2 3DB
Tel 0141 332 4101
Fax 0141 332 8901

Interview Participant FAQs

Transitions 20/40- Interview Participant FAQs

- **Will I be identified in the final paper?**
  No. You will be given a false name, or *alias,* and your interview transcripts and recordings will be given a participant ID number. Any information you provide that could identify you will not be used.

- **Will my answers be confidential?**
  Yes. Only in extreme circumstances will this confidentiality be broken. For example, if the law has been broken, or if anyone is in physical danger.

- **Will my decision to participate in the study have any effect on my studies at the RCS?** None at all. Anything you say in the interview will be strictly confidential.

- **Can I change my mind?**
  You will have the right to withdraw at any time during the study and ask for information held about you not to be used in the final paper, up until the point that that paper is submitted.

- **How long will the interview take?**
  45-60 minutes

- **How will the interview be recorded?**
  The interview will be recorded using a digital audio recorder. Some additional hand written notes may be taken.

- **What will happen with the recording?**
  The recording will be transferred onto a secure password protected computer, and be saved only using the Participant ID number. The original recording on the audio device will be deleted. The recording will then be written out (transcribed) and will be stored on a password-protected computer with the recording.

- **Do I have to answer every question?**
  You do not have to answer every question, and should not feel any pressure to do so. If at any time you feel uncomfortable during the interview, you have the right to stop.

- **Are there any financial benefits to me taking part in the study?**
  No. There are no financial incentives or gifts.

- **Why should I take part?**
  The purpose of the research is to paint a detailed picture of Transitions 20/40, with a particular emphasis on what the experience is like for you- the students. The more students that are interviewed, the more detailed the picture will be. This will hopefully inform the future improvement and development of Transitions 20/40.

- **Where will the interview take place?**
  I would like to interview you at a time that suits you, in the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland building.

Summary topics to be explored in interview

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Summary Topics to be explored in Interview-

Application

1. Where did you first hear about Transitions 20/40?
2. Why did you apply for the course?
3. What did you think of the application process?
4. Did you feel supported outwith the RCS in your application to T20/40?
5. If so, what form did that support take?

Audition

6. Can you remember your audition day?
7. Describe your audition to me if you can.

Adjustment/Transition process-

8. What were your initial impressions of the RCS building?
9. Do you feel comfortable in the RCS building?
10. Did you have a picture in your head of what the RCS would be like?
11. Does it match the picture you had in your head?

Social Adjustment

12. Do you interact with your fellow Transitions 20/40 students?
13. Would you say you have made any friendships?
14. Have you had any chances to collaborate or work with other Transitions students?
15. Do you think you will stay in touch with your fellow T20/40 students?
16. Have you had any reaction or feedback from friends, family and teachers outwith the RCS, i.e. In School/Work?
17. What has that reaction been?
18. Would you say you have felt encouraged by your school, teachers, friends and family?
19. Have you felt any more pressure from school, teachers, friends or family since starting T20/40?

Tuition

20. Have you noticed differences between the tuition you have received on T20/40, and the tuition you had received prior to it?
21. Do you feel you have progressed technically since starting the course?
22. Did you practice in your own time before T20/40?
23. Have your practice habits changed at all?
24. Do you practice more now?
25. Do you recognise any competition between yourself and the other students?
26. Have you ever felt discouraged at the RCS?

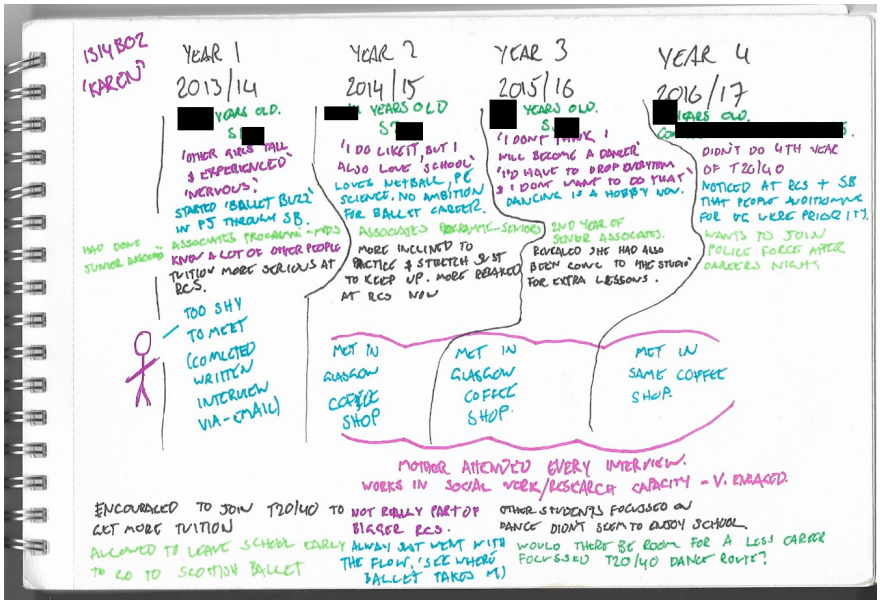
Overall- looking ahead

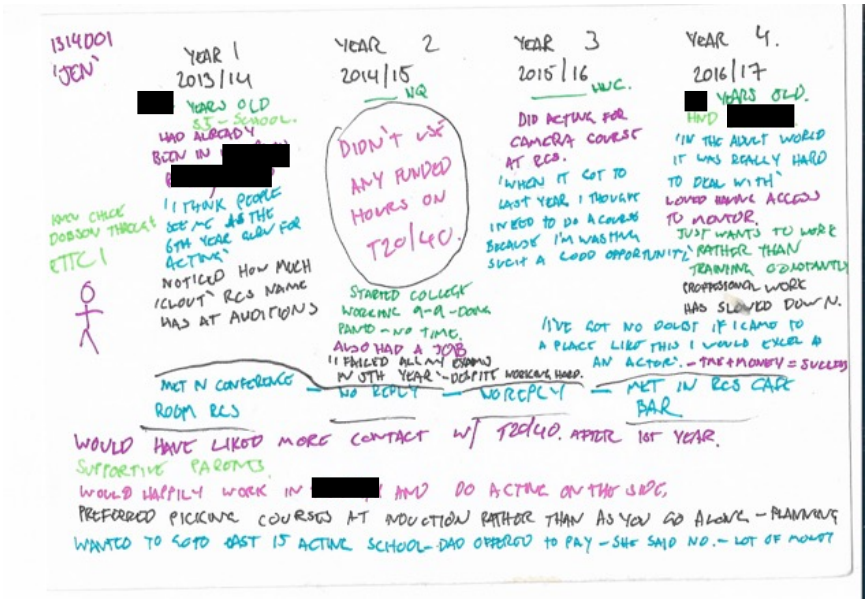
27. Before getting involved with transitions 20/40 what was your biggest motivation in doing music/drama/production/screen/ballet?
28. Realistically, where did you see yourself going with music/drama/production/screen/ballet? (Did you want to study further, get a job using that skill?)
29. Has that goal changed at all since getting into T20/40?
30. Do you think other people (School/Tutors/Friends & Family) have changed their expectations since you started T20/40?

Appendix 2

Example participant sketches

Examples of running participant notes or prompt sheets, logging ethnographic information from interviews, and kept for quick reference before constructing more formal participant summaries (See Appendix 3)





Appendix 3

Participant summaries

This section of the appendix is intended to broaden the scope of the student experiences outlined in the body of the thesis. Outlines of all 47 research participants interviewed between 2013 and 2017 are included here to ensure full and transparent representation of the research sample. While participants who 'transitioned' in, through, and out of Transitions 20/40 were used as the focus of the thesis discussion, the inclusion of these summaries is intended to illustrate the full range lived experiences. Many of the unreported participants, still on Transitions 20/40 at the end of fieldwork, also provided rich qualitative data that would be fertile ground for future research.

1314B01 'Susie' – (Featured in Chapter 7)

SIMD 20

> When I was at both Scottish Ballet and Conservatoire it was just pretty much the same sort of course, so like on a Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, it was like the same class all the time, so I think that was another factor to why I left.

'Susie' was a ballet dancer from a suburban area of the central belt. In her early teens at her first interview, she believed she was 'destined to dance'. Her family had multiple generations of dance experience. Her mother subsequently studied at university before starting her own business. In her first two interviews she clearly aspired towards studying at the RCS at undergraduate level, having enjoyed the Transitions 20/40 experience. She left the Scottish Ballet Associates programme between year one and year two having unsuccessfully auditioned for progression, but was still on Transitions 20/40. She skipped her third interview, becoming less responsive to contact, but at her fourth she revealed this was around the time she had left

Transitions 20/40 and had withdrawn from further study at the Conservatoire. She was in 6th year of secondary school at this point, studying music, drama dance and sports development. She left Transitions 20/40 during her 5th year at high school due to a feeling of being overworked and not having enough time to study for her Higher exams. She also found Transitions 20/40 dance provision to be repetitive and similar to the Scottish Ballet classes in both the personnel (teachers and students) and content. Transitions 20/40's dance provision was too focussed on classical ballet for her, and she still received tuition in jazz, tap, contemporary and other styles in her external dance classes. She sustained participation in musical theatre, continued membership in several musical theatre groups and regularly performed in shows. She was pleased with how she performed in her exams in school and at the end of fieldwork was applying for a Musical Theatre undergraduate degree or a dance HNC which led into an HND. She cited a medical condition as a reason for wanting to stay closer to home in further and higher study. Ultimately, she hoped to go into teaching, potentially starting her own dance school.

Entry Point- 13 years old, in S2.
Exit Point- 17 years old. S6, applying for college. No longer on Transitions 20/40.

1314B02 'Carolyn' (Featured in Chapter 7)
SIMD 40

> I did really enjoy the classes, it was just it got to the point where it was just too much, and yeah, so I did really enjoy the classes and I would probably like, if it wasn't as much I would have like still done it, but it was just too much of my time.

'Carolyn' was a ballet dancer from the central belt. Her mother worked in social care and was engaged in both the research for this study and Carolyn's education and training. Carolyn was keen to participate in this research but

did not participate in a face-to-face interview in the first year at age 13, being afraid she would give the wrong answers. Alternatively, she conducted a written exercise which followed the interview schedule. The following three years she met willingly in the same café, her mother attending each time, but with Carolyn visibly growing in confidence. She had completed the Scottish Ballet Associates programme by the third year of fieldwork, and highlighted similarities in personnel and participants between Scottish Ballet and the RCS. She grew in confidence throughout Transitions 20/40 but ultimately decided to leave the programme before her National 5 exams started in 4th year of school, as she had no desire to pursue a career in dance. She became increasingly aware of the gulf in aspirations between her and the other ballet students the further she progressed in both the Conservatoire and Scottish Ballet. Everybody else had vocational aspirations in ballet, but she held many interests outwith the Conservatoire, like sport and science. Carolyn was considering a career in the police force at the end of fieldwork, and had enjoyed the distance from the Conservatoire and Scottish Ballet since her withdrawal. She continued attendance at a less vocational dance class that staged more public performances in local theatres. Carolyn raised interesting questions about the possibilities of having more participatory or performance-based dance pathways at Junior Conservatoire level.

Entry point- 13 years old, in S1
Exit Point- 16 years old, entering S5. No Longer on Transitions 20/40.

1314D01 'Jen' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 20

> I've got parts over people that have been training their whole life in drama schools, and it doesn't, not that it makes me any better but it kinda gives you a wee bit of hope that as long as I work hard and keep going I can make myself a name. It's not about where you study, it's not about where you train, but I've got no doubt that if I came to a place like this that I would excel as an actor, of course I would. Anybody would if you were getting these great teachings

‘Jen’ was an actor from the central belt, who came into Transitions 20/40 aged 17. She promoted the initiative in her school and social networks with energy and enthusiasm, perceiving Transitions 20/40 funding to be a scholarship or prize, and speaking about it as something she had won. She had prior industry experience before starting on the programme through appearances in theatrically released film productions and television dramas. She was impressed by how much ‘clout’, or gravitas, the mention of the Conservatoire seemed to have in a college audition. Following the first research interview she became elusive in correspondence, finally responding to arrange an interview in the final year of fieldwork, 3 years after her first interview. It transpired that she had not used any of her funded hours in year two, and only undertook one short course in year three. She was very busy in the two years between interviews with a part-time retail job and college work for an NC and HNC at college, which made it harder for her to attend weekend and evening classes at the RCS. While she had not secured many acting roles since her initial interview, she had been cast in a national advertising campaign that rolled out across Scotland in multiple formats. In her fourth year she appeared much calmer and more measured, was in a serious a long-term relationship and harboured ambitions of traveling and eventually working in Los Angeles. Jen also said she would be equally happy having a family, working in an unrelated job and acting on the side. She had supportive parents who felt she could ‘fall back’ on financially, and who had offered to fund her move to the USA for her to ‘give it a go’. She was fully invested in her first year of Transitions 20/40 but would have liked more contact with the programme over the second and third years, feeling that more support would have been useful to help her negotiate parallel participation at college and external employment.

Entry point- 17 years old, in S5.
Exit Point- 21 years old, in HND. Transitions 20/40 status unclear.

1314D02 'Fi' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> Deciding I want to do a degree in acting is definitely because I did that course, it was kind of the thing that kick started everything. It's invaluable. I hope to finish uni and I'm going to keep going with the theatre company and hopefully get some good feedback about the plays, and keep going, keep busy.

'Fi' was a drama student from the north of Scotland. Her only involvement with Transitions 20/40 was limited to a 5-week summer school in at the very start of the initiative, but she credited it with her continuation into HE. She had done a year at college and three years at university during the fieldwork, and was entering her honours year at university by the end. She had started a joint Acting and English Degree at a post-92 university, but switched to Acting only at the start of 3rd year to address the lack of balance between the academic and practical work in her first course. Since her first research interview she had worked as a workshop facilitator and secured other participatory education and teaching jobs, while finding a niche in recording voiceovers for children's TV programmes. She moved to a central belt city at the start of university and following a year in halls of residence she moved into a flat with 3 other people from her course. She kept the same flatmates until the final interview when another acting student moved in. During the pivotal 3rd year of her degree she started a production company as part of a module, which became a successful venture, sharing work at an established Glasgow theatre, and was about to start a run at the Edinburgh Fringe at the time of the final interview. This external work had started eating into her university work and her lecturers warned her to exercise caution. However, she attached considerable value to this work, believing that this experience was perhaps more worthwhile than putting everything she could into her university work; she was aware she had been just 'doing enough' to keep on top of academic commitments. She developed a strong feminist perspective and framework for her practice, and this underpinned all of her work. Although her involvement

with Transitions 20/40 was brief, she saw it as a true catalyst for her deciding that she wanted to continue studying acting and forge a career in it.

Entry Point- 17 years old, in college.
Exit Point- 20 years old, finished 3rd year university.

1314M01 'Jamie' (Not Featured)

SIMD 20

> it's kind of hit and miss with me because I'm not, I could sit and eat lunch by myself because I'm not really, I wouldn't say I'm a really talkative person, whereas if someone came over to me I wouldn't mind sitting, but I wouldn't go over to anyone else. My mum always says I'm not a very confident person when it comes to chatting to other people but, that's kind of one aspect, but in the other aspect, sometimes I don't get the jokes other people make. It's all like musical and stuff, and because I came from somewhere that, a place that didn't do theory and didn't do stuff like that, some of the jokes just go over my head.

'Jamie' was a musician from the west coast. He played with various local brass bands and a national youth band. He expressed a frustration with his school music department in his first interview, when he was 12 years old. Having only just started high school, he almost gave up instrumental lessons before starting on Transitions 20/40. Despite having to change instrumental teacher, Jamie was largely positive about his time on Transitions 20/40, particularly when comparing it with his school experience. In interviews, Jamie always spoke in a functional, vocational way- vocalising his parents and grandparents desire for him to get a 'clean' job. He would talk about the Junior Conservatoire in terms of offering him 'the best training' or 'setting me up for what I want to do'. As he was among the youngest participants, Jamie frequently changed his career aspirations over the course of the fieldwork, ranging from Music Teacher to PE Teacher, before finally looking at the armed forces as he saw this as the best way to combine his enjoyment of physical activity with musical activity, having always been torn between music and sport. Transitions 20/40 funded Jamie for other activities in addition to the

JCoM; Jamie attended two summer schools taught by a renowned conductor and a jazz summer school in his third year. He found the jazz practices of aural learning and memorisation to be challenging, and worked better in the formal, structured settings of the JCoM.

Entry Point- 12 years old, in S1.
Exit Point- 16 years old, in S4. Still on Transitions 20/40

1314M02 'Gordon' (Not featured)
SIMD 40

> At the start off, it was quite hard because I wasn't used to how much work and effort I'd have to put in to keep up the standard of playing, but once I got in a routine every day, sometimes twice, sometimes once every two days, remembering things my teacher says. […] It's better now. It's challenging, and things like that. My teacher here is a lot better than my teacher before and he sort of knows more and he can transfer all those skills over to me and it makes me a better player. He's got a lot more experience about different things, for example, we were doing sight-reading one day and he was telling a story about how he was doing the [Professional Orchestra] and they gave him a sight reading and he didn't know what to play so he just played anything and we were practicing that, just playing anything, just keeping going, and he got that, he got the place in the orchestra, and he was saying as long as you keep the beat, as long as you can keep the rhythm you'll be fine

'Gordon' was a 15-year-old musician from the east coast when he entered the study. He had only been playing his first study instrument for two years before Transitions 20/40. His grandfather was pro-active in introducing him to pipe band competitions as a spectator from a young age and through this initiation Gordon became involved in a competitive band scene as a percussionist, stimulating an interest in music which was well supported and encouraged in school. Gordon's band was not local, and attendance required costly and time-consuming travel. Closer to home there was little opportunity for musical collaboration or performance and there was little or no knowledge about the

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. He heard about Transitions 20/40 from a classroom music teacher who suggested it to his parents at a parent's night. Gordon seemed incredibly positive about the high standard of musicianship he saw around him at the Junior Conservatoire of Music, and the motivational effect this had on him. He felt that this pushed him to practice more, and to perform in ensembles in a more gratifying and challenging way, finding that his knowledge and command of music theory had improved exponentially, which became evident back in the classroom at school. However, Gordon withdrew from Transitions 20/40 the following year and also withdrew from the study, despite some initial attempts to meet for interview in the second year.

Entry Point- 15 years old. In S4
Exit Point- Unknown. Withdrew from Transitions 20/40 and fieldwork after first interview.

1314M03 'Gregor' (Featured in Chapter 5)
SIMD 40

> I don't think nearly enough people go into a degree to train their skills and learn what it is that they're going to learn. I think the current system focuses you on getting exams so you can get a degree, so you can get a job so it's just a step on the way of achieving a sort of vague idea of success for a lot of people, but for me it literally is that I'm just coming here to get better at what I do so I can get more enjoyment from it in order to get through it.

'Gregor' was a musician from the central belt who came from several generations of music professionals and frequently played music at home from a young age. Gregor thrived in the Conservatoire, and had already privately funded a year of Juniors before starting on Transitions 20/40 aged 14. He was chaotic by his own admission, and was involved in numerous different ensembles both formally and informally. In second year, he started attending informal sessions in pubs, clubs and music venues, as a way of meeting and collaborating with notable traditional musicians. As well as the RCS he

attended an annual residential music course and taught adults from his first year in the fieldwork. Before the final interview he travelled to the USA to attend a course for which he received a full scholarship. Gregor immersed himself in music and was a classic example of the perpetuation of opportunities and funding, continuing to win awards, scholarships and gaining attention in the professional field. At the end of the fieldwork he successfully auditioned for multiple Conservatoire degrees, choosing a western classical pathway for its focus on technique and the possibilities that offered in terms of feeding into his creative practice. He specifically chose RCS because of the connections and cultural/social capital inherent with being in what he described as the Scottish 'trad' capital of Glasgow, intending to remain active in that field while mastering western classical music techniques and repertoire.

Entry Point- 14 years old. S3.
Exit Point- 17 Years old. Undergraduate study at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

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1314M04 'Charlotte' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> [The reason for choosing the different conservatoire I now attend] was actually my teacher. Also, there was so much more variation to like what you can do and this course is definitely more of a prep for the modern [instrumentalist] rather than RCS and [another conservatoire I rejected], because you get double on instruments and jazz [instrumental- lessons and like, it's much more like varied and it does prepare you more for the real world, because RCS like, and [the other conservatoire I rejected], all you do is classical [instrumental lessons] and that's really not going to prepare you for anything really. Like, you might get really good but what else is there to do, like I don't know?

'Charlotte' was a musician from central Scotland. She was 17 at the start of the study and in 5th year of a low-progression rate secondary school, before moving to a specialist music secondary after receiving a scholarship for her 6th year. During this year she successfully auditioned for a BMus at another

UK conservatoire. Charlotte spoke about the differing atmospheres and ethos in different institutions after auditioning for several UK Conservatoires, and this experience informed her decision not to study at RCS. She preferred the teachers and vibrant atmosphere at the eventual site of her undergraduate study. The last two interviews were conducted on site at the undergraduate conservatoire where she was now thriving; over the last two interviews she spoke of diverse and fulfilling performance experiences, negotiating gigging culture, working on community projects, and the teaching experience she was able to accrue. Despite her passion for project work and 'keeping things interesting', she saw her teachers also juggling portfolio careers and craved more stability in the long term, realising there was a choice to be made between two types of career. She had little contact with Transitions 20/40 since leaving the programme, other than annual research interviews, and resultantly did not necessarily identify as a Transitions student. It was a relatively small part of a much bigger picture of immersive music education, and seemed very distant to her by the end of fieldwork.

Entry Point- 17 years old, in S5
Exit Point- 20 years old, 2nd year undergraduate at another UK conservatoire.

1415B01 'Carrie' (Featured in Chapter 7)

SIMD 40

> I just didn't want to be someone that went on to do a job. I've always, since I started dancing, I've always wanted to do something with dancing. Obviously after I got into Scottish Ballet then it was serious, like the only thing I wanted to do. The only thing that was like, for me.'

'Carrie' entered the research as an enthusiastic 14-year-old dancer from the central belt who started as member of Scottish Ballet Associates programme and another prominent ballet school. She expressed interest in many genres and pursued collaboration with acting and music. Throughout Transitions

20/40 she left the other ballet school of through choice, influenced by increasing class sizes, and also the Associates programme because of unsuccessful re-audition. Carrie suffered an injury in her second year that led to her being unable to participate. She was referred to a physiotherapist by Transitions 20/40, but her family had to pay for the treatment. After making a full recovery she participated fully in Transitions 20/40 in the final year of fieldwork, while successfully auditioning for four further or higher education dance programmes. These ranged from London based small specialist dance institutions, to local colleges. She decided to go to a local college due to the funding implications of the other options. At the time of her final interview she was one week into her college course and was very positive about her initial experiences there. She described the workload as intense but was excited about the breadth of learning, particularly in comparison to the junior conservatoire provision. While Carrie fully credited Transitions 20/40 for getting her to where she was, the narrow specialism of study at the Conservatoire discouraged her from continued study there; she did not apply for a conservatoire degree.

Entry point- 14 years old. In S3.
Exit point- 17 years old. HNC at College.

1415P01 'Alex' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> 'I'd never considered it as a career option. Before I had always considered it as, well of course people must work in it because there are professional theatres, but it had never occurred to me before that I could do it as a living'

'Alex' was a 17-year-old production student from the west coast when they entered fieldwork. They were introduced to Transitions 20/40 and the Conservatoire more broadly through Entry to The Creative Industries (ETTCI). They had prior experience of working in amateur dramatics gained both in

their school and at a professional theatre. Alex was also an active musician who performed and busked regularly. Their dad was a professional DJ and their mum was a teacher, so they were able to practice live production using their dad's lighting rigs and mixing desks at home. They were very interested in English literature and pursued this at undergraduate level at a Scottish ancient university after one year on Transitions 20/40. They were heavily encouraged to follow a traditional academic path by their gran who they lived with at the time of application. The only continued contact they had with the RCS from this point on was through participation in this research. They initially found university coursework to be hard but rewarding, but from the second interview had suspicions that it may not have been the correct path, but they intended to finish their degree regardless. Alex found living alone to be better than living at home, and the biggest stress was actually caused when they had to go home to visit their parents. Alex worked various jobs during university; tutoring school students and working for a charity. At the time of their final interview they were about to start a foreign student exchange for the third year of their degree. Alex had also started training to pursue a career as a figure skating coach after university, picking up on a passion held much earlier in life.

Entry point- 17 years old, in S6.
Exit Point- 19 years old. Finishing 2nd year at university.

1415S01 'David' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I think if I did screen now it'd be very different because I was quite, because you had a lot of older people that would normally know about stuff, so you were kind of, you don't have as big a voice doing it like. I mean, it was good, I learned a lot through working with people, but I think it'd be very different if I did it now

'David' started Transitions 20/40 aged 14, and was among the youngest students in the Screen cohort. David was from the central belt and had a

considerable amount of inherited cultural capital from his literary father and his health professional mother- they bought him an iPad and tripod in his first year on the screen course to help with his studies. Despite this, he was acutely aware that he was among the youngest in the year, and recognised that the other students had more experience than him at his first interview. At the second interview David was still on Transitions 20/40, but no longer pursuing screen, now studying at the Junior Conservatoire of Drama. He was required to audition for the acting course, and had to then re-audition for a second year, but he described this end audition as 'less intense'. At the end of fieldwork, David was still unsure of what he wanted to do, although acting, social science and politics were his vocational aspirations. He was a vocal member of a political party and also participated in another theatre company which campaigned for social justice and inclusivity in the arts. He planned to take a gap year and work in Australia after school, and was open to doing a few years in college while continuously auditioning for the BA Acting if required.

Entry point- 14 years old, in S3.

Exit Point- 17 years old, finished S5. Staying in School.

1415M01 'Heather' (Featured in Chapter 5)

SIMD 20

> I knew that I wasn't getting anywhere fast with [my instrument] and I'd never been classically trained before, obviously, and going in and because I was taken back so I could sort all my technique and sort everything, and I was finding that really hard to move forward and I talked to obviously the Transitions 20/40 tutors and stuff, I was talking to my tutor and explained that I wanted to move on with my exams because I really think that I want to do music, but then I had that conversation with my teacher and obviously received a copy of the notes from the meeting and then, I think it was her saying that 'Oh, you need to be exceptional to get in' and she was talking like 'What other subject are you good at?' and it kind of gave me an insight.

‘Heather’ was a 15-year-old musician from central Scotland when she entered Transitions 20/40. She spoke at her first interview of extensive creativity, autonomy and informal music making, particularly in her house with her sisters, with whom she regularly performed. She had recently returned from a performance trip abroad to a country and folk music festival, and had missed the first week of Transitions 20/40. At this interview she was very positive about her instrument and music and the possibilities that funded attendance at the Junior Conservatoire of Music presented to her. At her second interview this confidence was gone. Shortly after the first interview took place her instrumental teacher at the Junior Conservatoire had told her that she would be unlikely to reach the ‘necessary standard’ in time for undergraduate application to the BMus at the Conservatoire, and had asked her what other subjects she ‘was good at’ in school. This conversation happened around 3 months into Transitions 20/40. Heather reasoned that she would never be a performer and changed her primary instrument. At the third interview she spoke about how she was able to focus more on composition and the academic side of music and had attained undergraduate places at two ancient Scottish universities.

Entry Point- 15 years old, in S3
Exit Point- 17 years old. Starting undergraduate MA at university.

1415M02 ‘Simon’ (Featured in Chapter 5)
SIMD 20

> It’s a great opportunity up here. It’s brilliant to actually have the teachers up here because they’re amazing and they do push you, but I think personally I was just pushed a wee bit too much in here, for my liking anyway.

‘Simon’ started Transitions 20/40 as a 14-year-old musician from the west coast. Simon did two years at the Junior Conservatoire of Music before leaving before his third. He lived with his mum and stepdad. His dad died

when he was ‘wee’ and his brother worked offshore. His dad gave him motivation to do music in combination with his mum’s regrets about giving up piano at a young age. He had no other musical influence in the family. At the first interview he found the timetable exhausting and found he had little time to create social bonds with other people at the Junior Conservatoire. He was aware of a social and cultural distinction between himself in ‘trackies’ and a lot of the other students. Conversely, his friends at home gently ‘ribbed’ him about and how he was attending a posh school. At both interviews he maintained that he was very impressed by the quality of teaching at the RCS but at the final interview expressed his feeling that it was ultimately too intense for how far he wanted to take music. His ambitions were largely informed by advice he received from music teachers and others that there was no money in performing, that it was an unlikely career option, and teaching was really the only choice if he was to attain financial stability. Simon ruled out teaching as a vocational pathway because of the requirement for a Higher English qualification on the BEd degree. Although he continued playing, Simon left Transitions 20/40 because he wanted to focus on his schoolwork, and hoped to get an engineering or other vocational apprenticeship after he left school. He valued his time at the RCS, and continued to play in his local authority concert band and took Advanced Higher Music in school. As part of his 5th year at school he did a sound production course at a local college, and suggested that he might have stayed at the RCS if something more contemporary and practical like this course had been offered.

Entry point- 14 years old, in S3.
Exit Point- 16 years old. Finished S5. Staying in School. No longer on T20/40.

1415D02 'Johnny' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 40

> There's not a lot of opportunities, and I mean, I think it's a horrible thing to say but it's pay to win to be honest a lot of the time. Like I wouldn't have been able to pay for Juniors and then a lot of people would be, like there's all these workshops out there that are like £100 an hour and stuff with you know, a famous person and I think money is a massive barrier

'Johnny' joined Transitions 20/40 as a 17-year-old actor from the urban central belt. His parents were both academic and spoke to him frankly and openly about culture and education. His mum worked for a non-profit organisation and his dad was an academic. In the first interview he came across as being very confident, but said that he had not always been that way, suffering from acute shyness as a younger child. He conquered this lack of confidence through acting, and he remembered a specific feeling during a primary school play when he almost transformed into somebody else, and found that this was what he wanted to do. Johnny was very political, informed in some way by his parents and the music he listened to, and spoke eloquently about 'pay to win' culture in the arts. Without the funding of Transitions 20/40 he would have been unable to pay for the Junior Conservatoire. He had developed views on the importance of economic, social and cultural capital, and recognised a real problem with the uneven distribution of these resources. He hypothesised about how to fix this so that the game was not stacked so much in favour of certain social groups. At his final interview Johnny revealed that he had successfully auditioned for an undergraduate degree at the RCS.

Entry Point- 17 years old, in S5.

Exit Point- 19 years old. Starting undergraduate degree at RCS.

1415M04 'Sarah' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> I would always tell my dad everything that would happen in music, and I'd tell him what I was thinking with careers, and I remember, and it's still kind of like this, I remember when I said I wanted to be in an orchestra he would immediately try to discourage me, because he personally doesn't really like the life to be honest and he, I can just tell whenever I speak to him about it and about career choices, he doesn't really want me to go into music, and if I talk about going into French or Geography for example, he'd be like, he'd still be as supportive because with music he's super supportive, but he'd still kind of be like Oh, you should probably do that' but I think when I said that I really like music technology he was super supportive of that.

'Sarah' joined Transitions 20/40 as a 13-year-old musician from south-west Scotland. Her father was a professional musician and was a huge influence on her. At her first interview Sarah expressed a desire to follow in his footsteps and become an orchestral musician. She provided insight into her own practice techniques, how she kept an audio practice diary, and how she used a mobile phone app to record loops and build compositions. At this point she made lots of friends at the Conservatoire. Sarah also formed relationships with drama students, looking for interdisciplinary collaboration, and not confining herself to the Junior Conservatoire of Music. At her second interview she had less time for this kind of inter-disciplinary socialisation as her timetable was busier, and also decided that she may want to move outside of music entirely to pursue a career as an astronomer. At this point she had started gigging regularly with a soul band formed at her school and was enjoying a broad range of music including soul and jazz. In her final interview she was gravitating towards sound engineering as a profession, and saw it very much as an integral part of the creative process. She retained an interest in jazz and had been put in touch with the Conservatoire's jazz teaching specialists about switching from the classical pathway at the Junior Conservatoire to a possible new Jazz pathway. Sarah was not afraid of informal learning and remained very active with technology, composing, and learning new instruments like guitar and piano on her own.

Entry Point- 13 years old, in S1.

Exit Point- 15 years old, in S3. Still on Transitions 20/40

1415D01 'Katie' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 40

> Initially I thought like if you don't get in first time you think I'm no good, when actually you never stop learning and I've been lucky with Transitions and stuff, like they've been so encouraging with saying 'look, you need that resilience.' So maybe some things are not meant to be sometimes and if you really want it you'll go back and if not you can do something else.

'Katie' entered Transitions as an 18-year-old drama student from south-west Scotland. She was on a gap year after finishing school in which she had no drama provision. During her gap year she was working at a theatre company, sometimes as a receptionist, sometimes as a tutor and facilitator. At the first interview she was unsure what her specialism would be despite coming from a musical theatre background. She aspired to act, direct, teach, and work behind the scenes in a portfolio career. Before Transitions 20/40 she had unsuccessfully auditioned for an undergraduate drama programme, but on the advice of her audition panel, she re-auditioned for Transitions 20/40 to follow a pathway which involved more devising, directing, facilitating and improvising than she was used to, which proved to be a bit of an abstract concept for Katie to explain to her parents; she was the first person in her family to act. By the time of her second interview Katie had decided the more contemporary pathway was not right for her, and had returned to musical theatre on a part-time arrangement as she started studying an HNC at college. She had been applying to undergraduate destinations, but was still sure that the HND at college was going to be her destination for the following year. She withdrew from the study in the final year for health reasons, but did respond to say she was now at university studying to become a teacher.

Entry Point- 18 years old. Gap year after school.

Exit Point- 21 years old- At university training to become a teacher.

1415M03 'Bernie' (Featured in Chapter 5)

SIMD 20

> I decided I wanted to do something to do with music therapy, so I didn't want to, before then I was set on doing performance and then coming here and volunteering in a care home and stuff and seeing people coming to care come and they play music to the residents and it kind of made me think 'Oh, that would be something quite interesting to do' because it's a completely other aspect of music that people don't really recognise as much.

'Bernie' entered Transitions 20/40 as an 18-year-old musician from the central belt. After leaving school early 'Bernie' decided to work for a year and save up to pay for the Junior Conservatoire of Music after completing an HNC in music at college. She had been in the RCS before to play concerts and receive lessons from a private tutor. While researching the fees for studying at the RCS, she discovered Transitions 20/40. She firmly believed that only people with money can succeed at music. She worked in a supermarket part-time to save up for university and thought the real-life experience made administrative tasks easier and trivialized some other issues such as technical criticism and other social and cultural clashes she experienced at the Conservatoire. She felt old in comparison to the other students; her 'chat' was different because the majority of Junior Conservatoire students were all still in school. She also spoke of a small minority of JCoM students who were disparaging towards Transitions 20/40, seeing it as being for people that *'can't afford it'.* This was visible to her in every part of life, and she saw this as part of the preparation for degree level and for life in general. She left school after 5th year and used college as her 6th year. She reiterated how firmly she believed that you need extra support and more tuition if you were to have a fair opportunity to study music at undergraduate level. Her HNC was very theory based and the practical elements focused on rock and pop, so all the

guitar players, bass players and drummers got regular lessons while she did not. Her tutor at college was still studying at university themselves and because her tuition was irregular, and she could not afford private tuition, she started to feel like she was falling behind. A few college friends were already at the JCoM and this gave her the idea to do a 'gap' year at the JCoM. She was struggling before Transitions 20/40 and hated playing music but started to enjoy playing again after spending time on her embouchure and her core sound; she felt like she was *'sorted for life'* after Transitions 20/40. She found the Conservatoire tutors to be far more experienced, knowledgeable and authoritative than her college ones, and trusted their opinions more. They seemed to take more care and interest in her development and external activities such as concerts and ensembles, and they tried to relate to her in a way that had not necessarily happened before. Her teachers at the Conservatoire went through harder points much slower, and in much more detail. Her confidence in playing high notes was the biggest improvement, trills and ornaments had been other ones, and she could now use the other pedals on the piano. Before, if she was stuck or lost she would have kept quiet but she developed an openness to asking the person sitting next to her where she was instead of miming her way through. 'Bernie' did not come from a musical family, so she was introduced to music lessons through school. Instead, she felt naturally scientifically minded and had always been torn between healthcare and music. She appreciated the mentor meetings particularly because she was at a stage where she was thinking about a career more than other students. She had decided she was going to study healthcare and then do a postgraduate degree in music therapy, creating a unique opportunity to combine the two after volunteering in a care home. Bernie believed that people did not really consider jobs like this because they always think about orchestral or other performance related jobs. She was fully prepared for it to be difficult to keep playing when she was studying, but Bernie continued to play in a university big band and a local authority concert band. She failed to attend another interview after her first one despite responding to e-mails.

Entry Point- 18 years old. Completed HNC in music.

Exit Point- 21 years old. At university studying a healthcare degree.

1516B01 'Bobby' (Featured in Chapter 7)

SIMD 20

> If you were trained to a high level, such a high level like I was, the chances of you coming back from an injury at a really key stage, I knew being able to audition again that you would never get in, because you were too old. So, if you can't make the 16-17 year old stage the chances of getting back in to become a professional are impossible. It's just not going to happen, but there's loads of classes out there that you can do and you can pick up if you want to, I don't know if I ever will do because there can be longer term damage to your knees, I don't know how they're going, they've not been great recently but they've not been terrible so it just sort of depends what happens. I spoke to some teachers at school and some of them said they were awful, and some of them said they were fine, but you just need to see how your injury goes, but the professional side is done.

'Bobby' entered Transitions 20/40 as a 15-year-old ballet dancer from central Scotland. He moved to an eligible SIMD 20 postcode having already attended the Junior Conservatoire of Dance for three years and was at the Senior level of the Scottish Ballet Associates programme. He was from a family with four children, of which he was second oldest, all of whom were dancers. His father was an engineer and his mother a teacher. In January of his first year in Transitions he was diagnosed with an injury or condition in his knee which meant he was unable to dance, eventually resulting in his withdrawal from the programme. He was advised that he could look at other disciplines within Transitions 20/40, and received mentoring and advice from dance lecturers throughout his treatment. He finally decided to withdraw from the programme altogether after realising that if he was unable to dance his heart would not be in anything else. At his second interview he spoke more about how he found his new-found free time highly enjoyable. He had enjoyed taking music technology and production classes at school, and it was the first time he could

recall having true leisure time. After a period where he struggled to find direction, he decided to apply for a social sciences degree at an ancient university, with a new aspiration to join the police force.

Entry point- 15 years old. Just after S4.

Exit point- 16 years old. Just after S5. No Longer on Transitions 20/40

1516D01 'Tanya' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 20

> The main thing that stops people from going to that path is family members I think. Yeah, family members. I have a huge thing about that, because for me I'm just lucky that I'm probably quite big headed and stuff, and just like 'Shut up, whatever mum' do you know what I mean? My mum thinks it's good but she thinks it's just a hobby and I was like 'No I actually love this' and she still does get worried where she's like 'What are you going to do at the end of this?'

'Tanya' was a 19-year-old drama student from the central belt. She was doing an NC at college at her first interview, having had no drama provision in school. She conducted research into what she would need to do to become a TV presenter. Her mother worked in healthcare and her wider family were more traditionally academic, so she was pushed towards science by them. She spoke about family pressures acting as a barrier for working-class people towards careers in the performing arts. She spoke about many barriers, including being a Black Scottish actor, being working-class, and having to work throughout her study. She initially went to university to study healthcare for 3 weeks after finishing school, but after withdrawing from her degree she spent the rest of that year working full time in a restaurant. At the start of the academic year 2015/16 she started an NC at college at the same time she started on Transitions 20/40. At her first interview she wanted to get into a Conservatoire drama degree as quickly as possible, but at the second interview, after spending a year on Transitions 20/40 she wanted to complete her HND and stay on Transitions 20/40 so she was more 'ready' for undergraduate audition.

Entry Point- 19 years old. NC at college.

Exit Point- 20 years old. HND at college.

1516D02 'Maureen' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 40

> I didn't know that Juniors was a thing. I didn't even know about it. I think I actually saw it on like, the way I found out about Transitions was that my children's theatre back home, the director, not director, the producer of that, she just e-mailed it out to everyone and said 'Oh this is a thing that's being offered' and if it wasn't for that e-mail I would never have had, like I knew about the Conservatoire and that they did stuff, but I didn't know that Juniors was such a big thing.

'Maureen' came to Transitions 20/40 as a 16-year-old sixth year drama student from central Scotland. She participated in other theatre schools and auditioned for undergraduate music programmes within the Conservatoire and at ancient Scottish universities while on Transitions 20/40. She was heavily encouraged to follow a traditional academic route as both of her parents had a university education. She was very musically driven, playing in a band and achieving Grade 8 singing. Maureen unsuccessfully auditioned for the degree programme she aspired towards at the end of her 1st year on Transitions 20/40, and against parental wishes, started an HNC at a college. Her decision to go to college was in part a result of her singing teacher's advice to take more time to develop before starting undergraduate study. At her second interview she was thriving at college and loved the teaching, but the class sizes were large and contact hours were small. Following her HNC she auditioned for her desired degree at the RCS and the second research interview was on the day of her recall. E-mail follow up revealed that her audition was successful.

Entry Point- 16 years old, in S6.

Exit Point- 18 years old. Starting undergraduate degree at Conservatoire.

1516D03 'Angela' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 20

> There's a few people that didn't talk to me before the holidays but then now they are talking to me because they've heard me sing and I've not really been interested in talking to them because they seemed kind of stand offish to me and like it's kind of like it's competition but not kind of like they will trip you up. I got complimented on my dancing today and I was getting, like snidely comments for the rest of the rehearsal, but I don't really care because in this industry, there's always going to be people who are better than you and I've got like quite a different voice from most people who are in the class. So, there's really no point to comparing myself to them because they are going to be doing different parts than me and different shows than me, so it's always going to be different.

'Angela' was a 16-year-old actor from the east coast who was encouraged to apply for Transitions 20/40 by her school music teacher, who privately taught a student from another secondary school who was on Transitions 20/40. Angela wanted to be a performer and was intent on studying or working in London, and already had her eye on more drama-oriented schools there, because she always thought of the RCS as a music school, not a drama school. She was from an artistic family; her gran was an artist and her aunt was involved in theatre, so Angela also applied for Transitions 20/40's production strand as well as drama. Upon arriving at the Conservatoire on a Sunday morning, she found the pre-juniors violin students to be intimidating- the fact they were so young and proficient made her think she did not belong, and she never spoke up in reflective discussion sessions in her own classes. Despite feeling like a fish out of water, she liked the Conservatoire and perceived no distinction among the cohort between Transitions 20/40 students and non-transitions students. However, she spoke at length about financial barriers and repeatedly spoke about attitudes and aspirations 'where I'm from', and the specific type of person she saw in undergraduate showcases at the Conservatoire, which in her eyes did not appear to be physically diverse. At the time of the first interview she was applying for multiple conservatoires

and universities. Angela did not participate in a second interview, but did respond to say she was attending university.

Entry Point- 16 years old, in S6.

Exit Point- 17 years old. University arts degree.

1516M01 'Christine' (Not Featured)

SIMD 20

> It might just be because like, different areas have different musical education, so different kinds of people get into it, so more kinds of people will get into it or whatever, or it might be to do with specific schools having really amazing music departments that inspire all of the kids to learn a musical instrument or it might be that all of the people from that kind of an area are better off so they all seem to have like, like been having lessons since they were 3 because they could afford lessons when they were 3 and it's private tuition and they had an hour every week, whereas I started in Primary 6, with a 25 minute lesson a week, and it was really cheap and it was with other people at the time, so they're more likely to have more people in the area that will be of a standard to come here, so they just kind of, they seem to concentrate. Like similar backgrounds make good friends.

'Christine' was a 14-year-old musician from the central belt at the time of the first interview. She had been encouraged to audition for Junior Conservatoire of Music by her instrumental teacher before they knew about Transitions 20/40, and attendance at the Junior Conservatoire of Music was financially unfeasible without the funding. Her dad played in brass bands and she had continued in this tradition, playing in multiple local bands and multiple local authority ensembles. At her second interview she was noticeably more confident. She was increasingly inspired by seeing her RCS tutors in concerts she attended, realising that they were professional musicians. She also felt well prepared to go to RCS because she now 'speaks the language' and had her 'foot in the door', after recognising that there was a socially and culturally legitimised way of doing things that had to be learned. She saw a divide between the students who had private lessons since they were '3 years old'

and those who had started in local authority lessons like she had. She had aspirations of studying on the BEd at the Conservatoire and then becoming a classroom teacher.

Entry Point- 14 years old, in S3

Exit Point- 15 years old, in S4. Still on Transitions 20/40

1516M02 'Gary' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> In musicianship, simply just saying to my teacher, she was always asking why I wasn't singing, understandably, and I just explained to her and she was glad that I explained to her and we settled things. She gives me different things to work on in the class, like paperwork, but I still do some working with other people in musicianship and except from that it's all fine. Before I came to Transitions I had a bit of a dark period where I was just not feeling too great about myself or anything.

'Gary' was a 14-year-old musician from the central belt who was introduced to music through a charity. Gary had the most noticeable difference between interviews of any participant, clearly demonstrating the transformative potential of Transitions 20/40's intervention. At the first interview he was a 14-year-old student who struggled with the new teaching methods at the Junior Conservatoire and could not face playing in front of a mirror, like he was made to do in lessons. He was incredibly anxious and suspected something was different about him in comparison to other students. This was in contrast to 16-year-old Gary at the second interview, who had received a medical diagnosis that explained his condition and was therefore able to formally address the issues that were causing anxiety in the first interview. He found the Junior Conservatoire of Music to be very supportive, making holistic changes to his timetable and ways of learning. These included taking him out of choirs, and tutors and teachers changing methods and approaches to relieve stress, all of which seemed to happen without much institutional resistance. In his own words, he felt 'integrated' into the JCoM. Gary did not

necessarily see music as a viable career option and wanted to work on the railways.

Entry Point- 14 years old, in S3.

Exit Point- 16 years old, in S4. Still on Transitions 20/40

1516M03 'Peter' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I reckon if [my parents] weren't musical at all then I wouldn't be here right now, I wouldn't have started music and I wouldn't be as good as I am, they wouldn't have taken me along to that first [music] lesson, they wouldn't have forced me to go along to a lesson I wouldn't have gone to, do you know what I mean? I mean it's easy to see the benefits now.

'Peter' was a 13-year-old musician from the central belt when he started on Transitions 20/40. Peter's dad was a musician and his mum was a primary teacher, having formerly been in a band. His dad sang in pubs and functions and the household admittedly relied on his mother's income more. He credited his parents with his musical success and among other things they took him to his first specialist music lesson. He had two younger brothers and a younger sister who all, along with Peter, go to a national youth choir, play instruments and sing. Peter knew exactly what he and his sibling's musical education and participation cost, stating that even the choir fees alone noticeably put a strain on his mother as the single regular earner in the family. He started with Transitions 20/40 in third year, and had many other interests including football and swimming. At his second interview he stated that undergraduate study at the RCS was now his goal after being unsure in the first interview, specifically aiming for the BMus. He prioritised being in Scotland as opposed to pursuing a conservatoire specific education elsewhere, citing tuition fees as a big reason. Coming to JCoM influenced his decision to apply to RCS because he knew what the Conservatoire was like and had no idea about other institutions. Without having too specific a plan, Peter knew he did not want to teach.

Entry Point- 13 years old, in S3.

Exit Point- 15 years old, in S4. Still on Transitions 20/40

1516M04 'Mhari' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> There's part of what I do now that I wouldn't have been able to achieve, whether it be socially or financially, that I wouldn't have been able to achieve otherwise, because it is not, it's an expensive industry obviously it's, and that sort of help and guidance that I've been given has definitely helped you know? There are certainly things that, like certain summer schools and parts of summer schools, and parts of the classes I take where I might not have been able to do otherwise, you know? So it's definitely making sure that I have as much opportunity that I can to get as much as I can as much as anybody else, it's definitely played a huge part.

'Mhari' entered the fieldwork as a highly articulate 15-year-old musician from the south-west coast. She started instrumental lessons in Primary 4, was firmly on a classical pathway and comfortable with this; it was unambiguously the music she wanted to play. She was applying for several conservatoires around the UK and hoped to get onto a degree programme. She performed well in school and had kept the social sciences as a back-up, perceiving music to be a very competitive field with no guarantee of success. However, she said she would take a gap year and re-audition if she was unsuccessful in gaining a place in a conservatoire music programme on her first attempt. RCS would be her first choice. She excelled in music at school and sat her Higher and Advanced Higher exams a year early. Mhari spoke about what she called 'education music' having concepts which even 'musicians' need to learn and revealed herself to be very politically astute in the second interview.

Entry point- 15 years old, in S4.

Exit Point- 17 years old, in S5. Still on Transitions 20/40

1516M05 'Alfie' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I was here on the Sunday classes and I was about 5 so I've been coming for a long time. […] in pre-juniors [..] I have been playing since primary one, so that's 7 or 8 years. […] I've always wanted to go to either London or here or I mean, Boston sounds quite good, but I'm not sure, I probably need to do more research. Helsinki as well at the Sibelius College they do a lot of stuff there, but also, pretty much anywhere. I mean Germany sounds really good as well, but I think it's mainly between here, Germany or either Manchester or London or somewhere like that.

'Alfie' was a 12-year-old musician from the central belt when he entered the study. He had already attended pre-Juniors Music at the Conservatoire before starting on Transitions 20/40 as a way of funding Junior Conservatoire of Music. From the first interview he also attended a specialist music secondary school full-time, and identified as a multi-instrumentalist. His parents were both musicians, and he wanted to practice more than his allotted practice times in his school timetable allowed, aiming to practice 4 hours a day. Alfie aspired to be a classical performer, playing in an orchestra or having a solo career, and already had a broad range of possible undergraduate destinations in mind for somebody in 2nd year at secondary school, entertaining many international institutions. In his school, students did Advanced Higher at National 5 level in 4th year, which kept students more in line with the need to be Grade 8 in 6th year to meaningfully compete at undergraduate audition. Despite this, he placed little value on exams and he took great pleasure in saying 'I'm Grade 1' when asked, having not sat any exams since then. He had already experienced success outwith formal education, having won a national music competition in 2016.

Entry point- 12 years old, in S1.

Exit Point- 13 years old, in S2, and still on Transitions 20/40

1516M06 'Kirsten' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> [My parents] want me to be a musician as well because, like they encourage me to practice more and like they, sometimes they play with me, so like we do, my mum plays the violin, my dad plays the drum and I play […], so that helps. […] Last year they found out about it somehow and they were like 'Do you want to go to this music school thing on Saturday?' And then we kind of talked about it and saw if I wanted to go or not and on Saturdays, yeah.

Kirsten joined Transitions 20/40 as 14-year-old musician from the east coast. She was from a very musical family that played together at home and was unphased by conservatoire life. Both her parents were musicians and she attended a high school with a strong traditional music department. Kirsten did not aspire to have an overly formal career and would rather teach privately in combination with playing weddings and other gigs. It had always been her plan to study music at undergraduate level, but at the point of her second interview she was still without a developed sense of actually where or what she would like to study. She was thinking of RCS or an ancient university, and knew the grades required to competitively apply for these programmes, but was confident these were achievable in the timeframe. Kirsten had no sense of Transitions 20/40 being any different to the Junior Conservatoire of Music, and was relatively unaware of what it was and what it intended to do.

Entry Point- 14 years old, in S3.

Exit Point- 15 years old, in S4 and still on Transitions 20/40

1516P01 'Ari' (Featured in Chapter 8)

SIMD 20

> Financial, confidence and social barriers, yeah, quite a few really, because I was quite awkward as a child and I've got quite a bit of problems with anxiety as well so that made it even harder, but Transitions has really helped because I already know everybody that's going to be in my life for these next 3 years, so it's like amazing.

> I'm so grateful to Transitions, because they've helped much more than I ever thought they could, and probably more than what they thought they could.

'Ari' was a 16-year-old production student from the west of Scotland when she started on Transitions 20/40. She was from a self-identified creative family with a dancer and actor younger sister and a drumming older brother. Her mum was a teacher and her dad was a retired engineer. Entering Transitions 20/40 she lacked confidence and struggled financially. She perceived a distinction in the Juniors Production pathway that became less pronounced after she switched to a bespoke short courses model in her 2nd year on Transitions 20/40. She spoke of how this stratification was reflected in lunch time choices, and recounted her feeling of disbelief at other students in the Junior Conservatoire discussing how many 'maids' they had. She clearly saw a class gulf at the Conservatoire, and spoke of one close friend who found the clash to be particularly adversarial and subsequently 'fell off the face of the earth'. However, Transitions 20/40 had a massively positive effect on Ari, and the familiarity with the institution and its staff that it facilitated helped with her anxiety. An art teacher in her secondary school was also incredibly helpful in the undergraduate application process. She had a huge cultural impact on her school by running a Free Trade committee and in raising awareness of LGBTQ amongst students and staff. At the end of her second year she had gained an unconditional place on a Conservatoire degree programme, which she originally thought was a mistake and phoned admissions to check they had the right person, such was her continued lack of self-confidence.

Entry Point- 16 years old, in S5.
Exit Point- 18 years old, finished S6. Undergraduate study at the Conservatoire.

1516P02 'Tamara' (Featured in Chapter 8)

SIMD 20

> Naw, of course they recognise your talents, and if you said you'd really like to do that they'd say go for it and gie you certain avenues to go doon, but yeah, the interviews were always the same that you'd get in any kinda situation like that. College, university, night classes, so no a lot of new ideas coming out of that. But it's still good. They're dain the best they can dae.

'Tamara' was a 17-year-old production student from the central belt when he started on Transitions 20/40. He was between college courses after leaving school at 15 years of age. He spoke vehemently about how schools were factories designed to reproduce unthinking drones that aim low and fulfil menial roles in society. He had started a few college courses before finding his way to Transitions 20/40, including one in product design, but never finished any. It was during this period he started going to an employability and skills training programme where he heard about Transitions 20/40. He signed up purely to experience something new, an ethos that he valued greatly. He enjoyed the teaching and learning, but admitted that he liked to antagonise and saw a socio-economic class gulf in the Conservatoire. He was particularly suspicious of the Conservatoire's motives and viewed Transitions 20/40 as a glorified PR exercise, akin to 'taking pictures of geein' a homeless guy a fiver'. Tamara left Transitions 20/40 after one year and at the second interview he spoke of how he now travels, works part-time, paints and writes. At the time of the second interview he was about to start an in NC at college.

Entry Point- 17 years old, between courses.

Exit Point- 18 years old, not on Transitions 20/40.

1516S01 'Hope' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> It felt like if I had done it straight of school I wouldn't have like the experience I have now, because I had zero experience at school. […] The last year I done a 10-week screen writing course and an editing course and I done a summer course in cinematography. This year I done a horror course and I'm about to do another screenwriting course and I think I'm gonnae go for one of the summer schools as well.

'Hope' entered Transitions 20/40 as a 17-year-old production student from the central belt. At her first interview she was extremely quiet. She was pointed towards Transitions 20/40 by a careers advisor in school. She left school after fifth year to do an HND in television production at college, having started doing theatre production and before switching to screen on Transitions 20/40. She had a clear idea of her aesthetic preferences and liked comedy and horror in particular. Throughout both her interviews she spoke of struggling to get real industry experience, despite persistent e-mailing and investigation. She had a conditional offer for a university degree in filmmaking, and had just auditioned for the RCS at the time of our final interview. E-mail follow up revealed that she was unsuccessful in RCS audition but was in first year of her degree at university.

Entry Point- 17 Years Old, 1st Year HND.
Exit Point- 18 Years Old, 2nd year HND, transitioning into undergraduate study at university.

1516S02 'Craig' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> Transitions as I said, it's a beacon to how accessible it is now. The number of scholarships you can get now at the Conservatoire for the short courses, I've never looked into the big scholarships for actually the main course, but obviously I live in Scotland so I would get it all funded, but for people coming in from outside the EU or whatever, that I think you could argue has been a lot more accessible now and it's a lot more open for people to study here, whether it's on Juniors, where

> it's on Short Courses or the main BA courses. It's a massive improvement, but they'll have been people out there who will have been saying because the Conservatoire is doing all of this that they're losing what they are and they would complain about that, and you're always gonnae get bigots.

'Craig' started Transitions 20/40 aged 16 as a screen student from the central belt. He found Transitions 20/40 through his involvement with an arts and media charity. He was very early on in his time at RCS at his first interview, but he had already concluded that Transitions 20/40's intervention was too late for him to confidently apply for college and university courses in screen. This informed his vocational switch to acting which meant he left the programme before his second interview. During his time on Transitions 20/40 he had attended the Junior Conservatoire and appreciated gaining experience in production, make-up, supervising continuity, and performing other roles which still feed into his acting practice. He believed his outcomes would have been different if Transitions 20/40 had come along sooner, and that he would have pursued screen as his career. He also voiced frustration at the RCS for not allowing him to continue on Transitions 20/40 doing screen because he applied for an acting degree. Craig also spoke of his sense of pride being responsible for him not wanting anybody to know he was funded through Transitions 20/40. He provided valuable insight into informal mentoring processes in the broader acting community and the word-of-mouth anecdotal opinions of institutions. In particular he noticed a big difference between 'Academy' (RSAMD) graduates and 'Conservatoire' graduates in his professional life. Craig stressed that his experience of Transitions 20/40 was not wasted and he still hoped to work in screen, but Transitions 20/40 was more of a personal experience than an educational one for him, with his biggest take away being the professionalism learned from his tutor there.

Entry Point- 17 years old, in S6.

Exit point- 18 years old, HNC at college. No longer on T20/40.

1617B01 'Violet' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> Ballet you need to be a certain shape and it's strict and really, really hard to get into. I know from my older sister, it's so hard. But I'll probably want to go down the road of jazz, musical theatre, maybe like a wee bit of ballet, but I wouldn't say just ballet, because it's so hard to go down the ballet route

'Violet' was a 12-year-old ballet dancer from south-west Scotland. Her mum frequently contributed to responses, being the only participant who exercised the option to have a parent sit in on interview. Her sister was already a professional ballet dancer and after a spell in London now worked professionally overseas. Because of this precedent Violet knew that classical ballet was very hard to get into, so she foresaw a mixture of jazz, musical theatre and other styles rather than just specialising in classical ballet. Her mother provided insight into the true financial cost of training a classical ballet dancer, saying that thousands of pounds had been spent on her tuition.

Entry Point- 12 years old, in S1.

Exit Point- Still on Transitions.

1617D01 'Maggie' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> It was definitely awkward thinking this is the way I want to go down and obviously your parents have concerns about it not being financially stable and things like that. But ever since I decided this was what I wanted to do and I've got into the RCS they've become more supportive in a way. Because they think right, you're not kidding around anymore you're actually serious, so now they're like we're going to help push you. If there's anything you need you can come to us and we'll help you out, and that's all everybody has been recently. I mean when you say 'I want to be an actor or a musician' they're quite tough industries to get into, so people have biased opinions of it and think well maybe you're not going to do it, maybe you're not going to make it,

> and I suppose they're right because they want to protect you from that but getting into the RCS it's been taken a lot more seriously

Maggie was 16-year-old actor from the central belt who heard about Transitions 20/40 from a previous Transitions 20/40 student who came in to direct her school's show. She had no school drama department, but members of her family enjoyed acting and her Gran worked at a theatre, so they had an inherited love of the theatre and an idea of its working practices. Maggie's prior training before Transitions 20/40 came from a privately funded short course at the RCS, a couple of months at another drama school, and an arts charity/community arts organisation. Maggie kept describing her chances of success and her participation at the Conservatoire as 'a shot in the dark'. She said that she loved the RCS, and affirmed that she definitely wanted to do something in theatre, but was not at the stage of focussing on one particular aspect as it all excited her. She observed that her parents now took her ambitions more seriously because of Transitions 20/40's institutional legitimisation of her potential.

Entry Point- 16 years old, in S5
Exit Point- S6 staying on Transitions

1617D02 'Demi' (Not featured)
SIMD 20

> I never read Shakespeare before I came here and now we're doing Shakespeare and I'm like 'To be or not to be, that is the question'. Like, I didn't know a lot of things. Like I didn't know if you go for audition they'd want a Shakespeare piece and they'd want a contemporary piece or whatever, and I'm like 'Really?' I thought you just went and picked something and read it, and didn't know. Yeah I've learnt a lot practically but a lot of knowledge as well through Transitions.

Demi was a 16-year-old actor who spoke quickly and had the highest word count of any interview, and also had a sibling on Transitions 20/40. She identified as dyslexic and raised points about academic language and the

different ways that dyslexia can be addressed using scribes and overlays. It was particularly striking that she had never been given the opportunity to find out what worked best for her. Demi spoke of the problems she faced sitting her Higher English exam with a scribe and how this affected her marks. Demi's parents were separated but are still really good friends, having set up a trust fund to support her and her sibling in further or higher education. She spoke a lot about the bond between her and her sibling and said that she always felt better when her sibling was there, but despite this constant support, still found it hard to socialise with the second and third years in Juniors because of their obvious social belonging. Demi had diverse prior experiences making documentaries and acting in school, but Transitions 20/40 was the first time she had engaged in creative activity outside of school. Demi chose to do Higher acting in school, but had to go to a local college for the delivery. She spoke about the guarded and mysterious nature of acting auditions and the knowledge applicants were expected to have going into them. Fortunately, she felt she was starting to learn these hidden conventions and rules through Transitions 20/40.

Entry Point- 16 years old in S5
Exit Point- S6 staying on Transitions

1617D03 'Rizzo' (Featured in Chapter 6)

SIMD 20

> I'm still in school, I'm just doing my sixth year just now. [it is] Terrible, I just want to leave. I want to leave I want to get out. […] but I honestly owe a lot to my drama department in school. They're like the reason I've come here

Rizzo was a 17-year-old drama student from the central belt. She started at the Junior Conservatoire but by the time of her interview she had decided she did not belong for both pedagogical and cultural reasons. She perceived a real distance and snobbery in Junior Conservatoire students and she felt she 'could not deal' with the environment. After raising these concerns with the

Transitions 20/40 team she was moved to a new bespoke programme where she felt more comfortable. She spoke about her drama teacher in school as an inspirational figure but one who harboured a resentment towards the RCS. Despite all of this, Rizzo said that she actually enjoyed the RCS and thought that she wanted to study there at undergraduate level, especially as she thought she would bring a lot to the acting cohort. She thought the authenticity of emotional recall was very important for actors, and that people from wealthier backgrounds did not necessarily have this, although they may be technically better actors. Her plan was to go to college for a few years as she felt like she needed a few years of training before her undergraduate application.

Entry Point- 17 years old, in S6
Exit Point- Leaving School. HNC at college.

1617M01 'Oran' (Not featured)
SIMD 40

> When we tried this Spanish piece that I'm playing, there's a bit that's unaccompanied and there's no bar lines so I can do whatever I want. [My Conservatoire teacher] told me to do whatever rhythm I want, like what I think fits, but when I played it to my old teacher, she said you have to make it bit more rhythmic, and it's just confusing. […] with my old teacher we never really talked about being freer.

'Oran' was a 12-year-old musician from rural south-west Scotland, who started private lessons at the age of two. His mother was an academic and his father was a teacher. He spoke about having a baby grand piano in his house and received tuition locally from the same teacher on different instruments. His private teacher seemed to have an arrangement with the local council where they would supply instruments if the pupil attended a local orchestra, which Oran did. Apart from this and a few local competitions, Oran struggled to find opportunities to play locally. He was signposted to the Junior Conservatoire of Music by his private instrumental teacher, but was told by

the RCS that he would be unable to continue his private lessons. He chose the Conservatoire. He was very concerned about the continuation of the funding of Transitions 20/40 and said that he would be unable attend the Junior Conservatoire if the funding was not going to continue beyond the initial cycle. He aspired to play in an orchestra if he decided to pursue a career in music, which he would only consider if he 'didn't get good enough grades to be a marine biologist'

Entry Point- 12 Years old, in S1.
Exit point- Staying on Transitions.

1617M02 'Katya' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> Since joining the Junior Conservatoire I haven't had the chance to hear other instruments while playing my own, and the [instrumental] ensemble really helps, and I want to go into the orchestra and things like that. […] I think it's really important. This place has given me such a big boost. I just learn so much more here, whereas in school we've just touched the surface, haven't really done much.

'Katya' was a 12-year-old musician from central Scotland. She was already ABRSM Grade 6 in her first instrument and had started a second study by the time she started Transitions 20/40. Katya started lessons at the age of five and had 'loads' of exam experience. She felt she had performed very well at her audition for Transitions 20/40, and was already comfortable in audition and exam conditions more generally. She had four years of pre-juniors attendance before starting the Junior Conservatoire of Music through Transitions 20/40 and was positive about her experience up until this point. She had the same instrumental teacher for her entire time at the Conservatoire, and was very comfortable in the building, having never sensed any competition or discouragement. Although she was only 12, she was already thinking about a career in music, but she also had a passion for maths and science. She spoke incredibly philosophically about how she sees maths

and music as intertwined, but also spoke very emotively about the journey she goes on when she played a piece of music. She said that Transitions 20/40 funding meant a lot because she would not have been able to afford attendance at the Junior Conservatoire of Music without it.

Entry point- 12 Years old, in S1.
Exit point- Staying on Transitions.

1617M03 'Sandra' (Featured in Chapter 5)
SIMD 40

> I'd heard how difficult it was to get into' […] I wouldn't have been ready for it. I mean that's one thing they said to me in the interview 'You're not ready for a life completely dedicated to music' and it's true, like I wasn't.

'Sandra' came into the study as a 16-year-old musician from the central belt, playing several instruments, but was partly self-taught. She was an extremely confident and autonomous learner and became a first study composer at the Junior Conservatoire of Music. She originally auditioned for a Conservatoire degree aged 15 and in 5th year at secondary school, without telling any of her music teachers. Teachers and family actively discouraged her from pursuing a career in music as it was perceived that it would lead to a precarious future and that she did not have the advanced specialism in any instrument to do so. Regardless, Sandra prioritised gaining a broad understanding of many instruments for composition purposes, and her first undergraduate audition panel saw potential and signposted her towards Transitions 20/40 to work with a composition tutor at the JCoM before re-applying for the degree in the future. In addition to the JCoM, she was also funded to do a summer school at the RCS, further preparing her for re-application. She re-auditioned in 2016 and achieved a degree place.

Entry Point- 16 years old, S5.
Exit Point- Aged 17. Conservatoire degree.

1617M04 'Ryan' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> Ryan: I didn't [know about the Conservatoire]. Most people don't know it's here. [..] I say like I'm going up to the conservatoire college to get a lesson done with [an instrumental teacher] or whatever and they're like 'Where's that? I've never heard of the conservatoire before'. […] not a lot of people know about it. I suppose it shows you what it's about. […] It's more like an expensive school I suppose and not everybody gets to come here, so maybe that's probably one of the reasons why not everybody knows about it, but saying that, it does have a big reputation. […] It's quite cool I suppose, the layout and the brickwork and all that. It's different from schools and colleges and that, all grey carpets. People are different as well.
>
> GJS: How are the people different?
>
> Ryan: They're kind of nice and more willing to talk to people, if you know what I mean. Like if you just went up to someone and started talking to them [people- where I was from] they'd think there was something wrang with you. ('Ryan', 1st Interview, 2017, Aged 18)

'Ryan' entered the study as an 18-year-old care-experienced musician from the central belt. Ryan had moved around a lot in life, having lived in rural Scotland, large towns in the central belt and south-east Asia among other places. He attended secondary school at an education and residential care facility and left with two National 5 qualifications in English and Biology. He had just completed an Entry to NC course at college and was about to enter a full NC Music programme in 2017/18. Ryan commented that 20 people started the access course and only 8 finished, stating that a lot of people did not seem to care. On Transitions 20/40 he received one-to-one lessons on a bespoke pathway rather than attending the Junior Conservatoire of Music. The only other tuition he received at the Conservatoire was an Alexander Technique course. Because of his bespoke pathway Ryan had very little interaction with other Transitions 20/40 students. To help him practice, a Transitions 20/40 team member delivered an instrument to his flat where he now lived alone. He was desperately seeking summer employment at the time of interview. Ryan did not really care institutional perceptions, he just enjoys

the free tuition and was going to see how far it could take him, having a career in the Merchant Navy in his sights.

Entry Point- 18 years old, S6.

Exit Point- On Entry to NC at college, looking to progress to HNC.

1617M05 'Olivia' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I think I've had my eyes opened a bit. There was this girl who came in for the BMus course and she talked about all the classes and it just sounds amazing and I feel like it would be cool to just do professional singing as well. So I might just focus on that and do teaching later on. But I'll see how it goes in the next year.

'Olivia' was an 18-year-old musician from the west coast and was attending the Junior Conservatoire of Music in a gap year following secondary school. Her mum was a scientist and her dad was a computer programmer. She was certain that she wanted to become a music teacher, but before starting on Transitions 20/40 Olivia unsuccessfully applied to the Conservatoire. She also applied to two other universities- one ancient university which had an off-putting academic focus, and a post-92 university for which she received a conditional offer. She failed to obtain the required grade in Higher English, and following a second unsuccessful audition to the Conservatoire she was now commencing an HNC at college in September 2017. She had originally declined the place on the HNC because it would have meant reduced hours on Transitions 20/40, but was now not hopeful about receiving reduced Transitions 20/40 provision anyway, as she was now too old for the Junior Conservatoire of Music. She was going to re-sit Higher English on top of the HNC this year while working part time in a restaurant.

Entry Point- 18 years old, gap year after S6.

Exit point- 19 years old, starting HNC at college, leaving Transitions 20/40 because of age.

1617M06 'Dana' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I'm labelled this spoff kid anyway. You don't know what a spoff is? Well a spoff is someone who's smart, they're clever and they know it all basically. So because most of them don't bother to do anything, they just sit in class and I do do well at school I mean I've had a few awards, I mean my mum has always said as long as you're doing your school work, so I don't care but it sometimes hurts when people say it, I'm like why isn't everyone. Why aren't you doing the same as I would do? So, yeah I'm a spoff supposedly. I just work hard. Most people should, but there's always the stigma of people doing work and that kind of stuff.

'Dana' started Transitions 20/40 as a 13-year-old musician from the west coast of Scotland. Her father frequently worked away from home, so her mum stayed at home for Dana and her three other sisters. Dana spoke at length about the social norms and culture in her area, and the 'stigma' attached to her school. She thought it had a worse reputation than it deserved, and believed her school meaningfully engaged in the performing arts despite facing more barriers than other areas. She recognised the luck that led to her primary school having a musically literate deputy head teacher who introduced her initially to tuned percussion. She recognised this advantage when three primary schools merged, and her school excelled at the instrumental lesson aural tests. This raised questions about how fit for purpose this test was as a base level indicator of who should receive tuition. She also observed a local resentment towards the Conservatoire and spoke about how she would not be able to participate without Transitions 20/40's funding. Dana was bullied by other school pupils because of where she was from, due to an east end/west end divide in her town- this was evident even in her 'music' group. Conversely, she also spoke about bullying and exclusion because she was a 'Spoff' (someone who tries hard), and subsequently bonded with other Transitions 20/40 students who understood how she felt

Entry Point- 13 years old, in S3.

Exit Point- 14 years old, in S4. Still on T20/40.

1617P01 'Karl' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> I'm a lot older. I would say it's more difficult being a 24-year-old trying to get back into education after being out for six years compared to someone whose been in high school transitioning straight into university.

'Karl' entered the study as a 24-year-old production student from the Highlands. Since leaving school with two Highers, he went through a period of unemployment before getting a manual labouring job, and then working shifts at a supermarket, after a course at college led him towards a day job as a computer analyst. He first got into theatre production when his partner's theatre company needed a sound engineer at short notice. He underestimated how hard it was, but felt like he had found something to be passionate about. Karl successfully interviewed for Transitions 20/40 and maintained his full-time job during his first year. This mode of learning was preferable to Karl who found it hard to take time off work for summer and Easter schools. This meant considerable traveling and accommodation expenses that Transitions 20/40 helped to pay for, making the Conservatoire accessible to him in a way that would not have been possible without funding. Karl spoke about the other less tangible inroads Transitions 20/40 opened up. Access to training delivered by professionals in the field helped him to feel less distance between himself and the profession, something which was very important, given his status both as a mature student and one from a remote area. Karl completed a year of Transitions 20/40 and successfully auditioned for a Conservatoire degree.

Entry Point- Aged 24- Working full time as a computer analyst.
Exit Point- Aged 25- Starting undergraduate study at RCS.

1617P02 'Lorna' (Not featured)

SIMD 40

> So far but I'm hoping there's going to be a lot more even if it's not film projects. Any sort of different projects. Certainly, I think collaboration is a big part of doing the classes like, but I think it was myself and [Karl] were on, the only one we've really done is the Introduction to Pyrotechnics. Playing with explosives is just wonderful! We were working together with that. That was a collaborative effort as well. The only thing I would say, the one slightly negative experience on that and I've already blogged about it and fed back to the team anyway, but I felt there was a big gap, or sort of division, between the current undergrads and the external or 'other' students and at times they were just sort of like, not very welcoming or anything. Just preferring to stick amongst themselves and that's kind of understandable because a lot of people maybe find it difficult to maybe meet new people and are quite shy and stuff but I just felt there was some sort of underlying, I don't know that hostility is a strong word, but it definitely felt that they didn't care that we were there, and it felt kind of unwelcoming. Because it's like they're students and they are kind of where we want to be, so you would think they would be more like 'Oh, so were here now, it this is what it's about and it's amazing.' and trying to tell us all about it but… but I met some nice people among the external students on that.

'Lorna' started Transitions 20/40 as a 32-year-old production student from the central belt. She felt tensions with undergraduate students during a short course on Transitions 20/40, and suggested the idea of having a 'Senior Juniors' for those on a bespoke pathway to have more regular contact with RCS, as she felt disconnected and peripheral compared to others on the Juniors Pathway. Lorna spoke about the intellectual satisfaction of having technical production knowledge. Studying production also brought her a nuanced appreciation of performances rather than them just being passive experiences. She also spoke about the inaccessible nature of theatre production jobs, and that she thought she needed to be from 'One of those theatre families' to succeed.

Entry Point- Aged 32- In full time employment.

Exit Point- Aged 33- Still on Transitions 20/40.

1617P03 'Ettie' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> I knew, my postcode is the main thing. I feel like sometimes, and this is just me being honest, I'm not like the poorest person in the village. Like I don't, I think sometimes, I don't know whether the funding is… obviously I wouldn't have went on the courses or been able to afford it, but then there's a lot more people less well off than me that it probably would have benefited… I don't know what I mean by this, like I'm not, I'm kind of in that middle stage where I'm not like eligible for loads of bursaries or anything, but then because it's just the postcode I feel like… I don't know.

'Ettie' entered the study as a 17-year-old production student from the central belt. She first started on Transitions 20/40 on a pro-rata basis, only undertaking some short courses around a Saturday job. However, she then moved into Transitions 20/40 fully as a fully-fledged member of Juniors production. Outside of Transitions 20/40 she struggled to get experience in theatres. She e-mailed multiple organisations and theatres with no responses. She had no school drama department or formal support. Ettie was also very musical, being Grade 8 in two instruments and had a sibling already studying at a conservatoire. She had an interesting discussion about not being the poorest student, even though the funding had made a massive difference to her. She felt the audition preparation course was really very competitive and served to highlight the inequality of opportunities she experienced with other private-school educated students who had lots of theatre experience.

Entry Point- 17 Years old, in S6.

Exit Point- Aged 18. Still on Transitions 20/40

1617S01 'Boyd' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> I just kept thinking, and nothing against people like that but I just kept thinking that people would be walking around with green socks, and I don't have anything against that, and I'm just coming up in a trackie because I just came wearing joggies and I wasn't, I like jeans now, but

> I was wearing Nike joggies and turning up and I felt like I wasn't welcome and I was like 'No-one else is wearing joggies here, whit am I dayin?' so, but then you get to know them and they're alright so.

'Boyd' entered Transitions 20/40 as a 16 year-old screen enthusiast from the central belt. He was very active and autonomous and generated his own content for YouTube and other platforms from the age of 11. Although he was able to do all of this on his own, he felt he had really benefited from 'knowing where to look' for further opportunities and work after Transitions 20/40. Boyd had actually already completed a year on Transitions 20/40 at the time of interview, having applied in 4th year of secondary school. After completion a second year of Junior Conservatoire, he left school at the end of 5th year to commence an NC at college. Boyd hoped to do an HND then move directly into the world of work in the film industry. Despite not prioritising a conservatoire education, he did not rule out further study, but prioritised entering the professional field as quickly as possible.

Entry Point: 16 Years old. S4.

Exit Point: NC at college. Still on Transitions 20/40.

1617S02 'Mel' (Not featured)

SIMD 20

> I knew it was a really big fancy place in town. That's what I knew it as because you come into town and it's this big fancy building, so that's what I knew it as. […] everyone says that people in here are like, that it's really difficult to get into and it's for people that are up to a very high standard. Because obviously when applying and when thinking of applying you have to be up to really, really high standard. […] I've been called pretentious, I've been called a ponce, I've been called everything just because I go to RCS on a Sunday. Like 'Oh, you're so posh, you're so pretentious, everyone there is so pretentious' and I'm like 'No its actually a really good university, really, really good.

'Mel' was an 18-year-old screen student from the central belt. She was originally from the England, but moved to Scotland after her parents separated. She loved the RCS and felt very comfortable there. She was just starting an HND at college but was also going to do a second year on

Transitions 20/40. She was very politically motivated, with deeply rooted socialist beliefs, but said she had the full range of political beliefs in her household between her mum and her stepdad. She wanted to go into political documentary making. She enjoyed live music, particularly punk and followed bands around on tour, often travelling hundreds of miles.

Entry Point: 18 Years old. In S6.
Exit Point: Starting HND at college. Still on Transitions 20/40.

1617S03 'Roger' (Not featured)
SIMD 40

> To me and my family, it's sorta, because you think you want to get in the film industry, like how would you actually go about doing that in this has sort of put it in perspective of how you would actually go and progress into the industry and feel like, yeah there's so much help and Transitions is offering as well, which is brilliant that they actually give me the opportunity, because where I live it's not the best for actually learning and experiencing new, but Transitions has helped me a lot to actually get a foot in the door and experience things and obviously learn with new people.

'Roger' was an 18-year-old screen student from the rural west coast. Both parents worked in healthcare and he had no inherited artistic experience in his family. Although Roger was remotely located, he could access the Conservatoire fairly easily as long as his ferry was running. He did not need to leave his house too early on a Sunday for Junior Conservatoire and got a bus directly from his door to the Conservatoire in time for class. He found local provision in the arts to be lacking even though there was a local film festival, a small independent cinema and a local industry and culture around the highland games. He spoke very positively and enjoyed his time at the Conservatoire, feeling he had learned lots. He intended to apply for undergraduate study at RCS.

Entry Point: 18 Years old. In S6.

Exit Point: Still on Transitions 20/40.

Appendix 4

Geographic spread

Measuring and recording the geographic spread of participants was one of the doctoral studentship's key areas of responsibility agreed in annual reporting of Transitions 20/40 to the Scottish Funding Council. Included here are the 4 annual reports on cohort and applicant distribution, then the geographic distribution of the research participants themselves.

Included in following pages:

- 2013/14 Geographic Spread report
- 2014/15 Geographic Spread report
- 2015/16 Geographic Spread report
- 2016/17 Geographic Spread report
- Geographic Spread of research sample

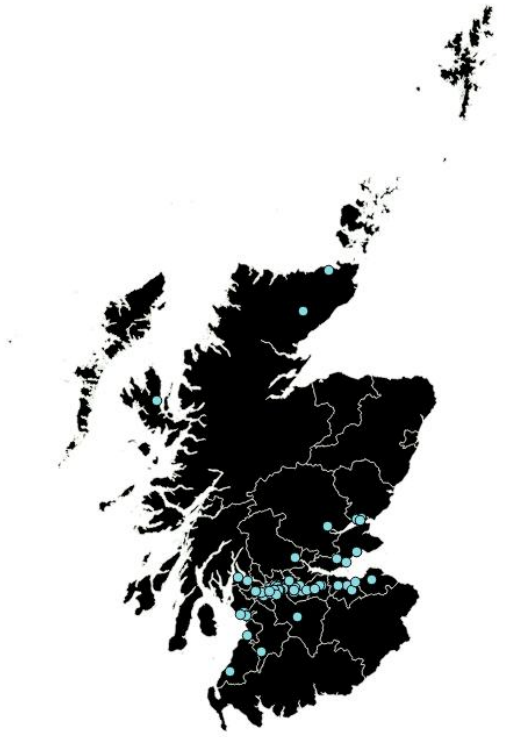
2013/14 Geographic Spread report

Transitions 20/40

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Geographic Spread of 2013/14 Transitions 20/40 Applicants

In 2013/14 Transitions 20/40 received 88 applications to meet its recruitment target of 48 students. This map shows the geographic distribution of the applicants SIMD 20/40 postcodes.



Summary

- The majority of applicants were from the central belt.
- 39% of applicants were from Glasgow City Council. Glasgow has 341 SIMD 20 data zones, which is 26.2% of the SIMD 20 data zones in Scotland (referred to as the 'national share'); therefore Glasgow City Council has the largest SIMD 20 population in Scotland by a considerable margin.
- 3% of applications came from Highland Council. These were the furthest from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland's Glasgow location. Highland Council is the 18th least deprived LA in Scotland with 25 SIMD 20 data zones, 1.9% of the national share.
- 19 (59%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities were represented in the applications for Transitions 20/40 in the academic year 2013/14.
- 13 (41%) Local Authorities were not represented in applications for Transitions 20/40 in the academic year 2013/14.

SIMD Profile

- 30 (34%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 57 (65%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes
- 1 (1%) application came from an SIMD 80 postcode and was ineligible.

T20/40 Applicants by Local Authority 2013/14

Local Authority	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Applicants	%
Glasgow City Council	34	16	16	2	0	0	39%	
Edinburgh City Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	2%	
Fife Council	4	2	2	0	0	0	5%	
North Lanarkshire Council	12	8	3	1	0	0	14%	
South Lanarkshire Council	3	1	1	1	0	0	3%	
Aberdeenshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Highland Council	3	1	2	0	0	0	3%	
Aberdeen City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
West Lothian Council	3	2	1	0	0	0	3%	
Renfrewshire Council	2	0	1	1	0	0	2%	
Falkirk Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Dumfries and Galloway Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Perth & Kinross Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	2%	
Dundee City Council	5	1	4	0	0	0	6%	
North Ayrshire Council	4	4	0	0	0	0	5%	
East Ayrshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%	
Scottish Borders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
South Ayrshire Council	2	0	2	0	0	0	2%	
Angus Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
East Dunbartonshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%	
East Lothian Council	2	0	1	1	0	0	2%	
West Dunbartonshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Stirling Council	4	4	0	0	0	0	5%	
East Renfrewshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%	
Argyle and Bute Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Midlothian Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%	
Inverclyde Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	2%	
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
Totals	88	48	34	6	0	0		
Percentage of Applicants	100%	55%	39%	7%	0%	0%		

Total Unique Local Authorities	19	16	11	5	0	0

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Applicants	30	18	9	3	0	0	34.09%
SIMD 20 Applicants	57	30	24	3	0	0	64.77%
Outlier (SIMD 80)	1						

Local Authorities not represented in 2013/14 applications for Transitions 20/40-

These were:

- Aberdeenshire Council (6th Least SIMD 20) 5DZs (0.4% National Share)
- Aberdeen City Council (21st Least SIMD 20) 35 DZs (2.7% National Share)
- Falkirk Council (19th Least SIMD 20) 29 DZs (2.2% National Share)
- Dumfries & Galloway Council (15th Least SIMD 20) 16DZs (1.2% National Share)
- Scottish Borders (8th Least SIMD 20) 7 DZs (0.5% National Share)
- Angus Council (Joint 10th Least SIMD 20) 9 DZ (0.7% National Share)
- East Dunbartonshire Council (5Th Least SIMD 20) 4DZs (0.4% National Share)
- Argyle & Bute Council (12th Least SIMD 20) 11DZs (0.8% National Share)
- Moray Council (4th Least SIMD 20) 2 DZs (0.2% National Share)

- Clackmannanshire Council (16th Least SIMD 20) 18DZs (1.4% National Share)
- Na h-Eileanan Siar (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Shetland Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Orkney Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)

Cohort

In 2013/14 Transitions 20/40 had 40 successful applicants that made up the first cohort.

- 16 (50%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities were represented in the first Transitions 20/40 cohort in the academic year 2013/14.
- 16 (50%) Local Authorities were not represented in the cohort.

These were:

- Aberdeenshire Council (6th Least SIMD 20) 5DZs (0.4% National Share)
- Aberdeen City Council (21st Least SIMD 20) 35 DZs (2.7% National Share)
- West Lothian Council (20th Least SIMD 20) 34DZs (2.6% National Share)
- Renfrewshire Council (25th Least SIMD 20) 60 DZs (4.6% National Share)
- Falkirk Council (19th Least SIMD 20) 29 DZs (2.2% National Share)
- Dumfries & Galloway Council (15th Least SIMD 20) 16DZs (1.2% National Share)
- East Ayrshire (23rd Least SIMD 20) 48 DZs (3.7% National Share)
- Scottish Borders (8th Least SIMD 20) 7 DZs (0.5% National Share)
- Angus Council (Joint 10th Least SIMD 20) 9 DZ (0.7% National Share)
- West Dunbartonshire Council (22nd Least SIMD 20) 41DZs (3.2% National Share)
- Argyle & Bute Council (12th Least SIMD 20) 11DZs (0.8% National Share)
- Moray Council (4th Least SIMD 20) 2 DZs (0.2% National Share)
- Clackmannanshire Council (16th Least SIMD 20) 18DZs (1.4% National Share)
- Na h-Eileanan Siar (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Shetland Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Orkney Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share

2014/15 Geographic Spread report

Transitions 20/40

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Part 1: Geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 applicants (2014/15)

In 2014/15 Transitions 20/40 received 182 applications to meet its recruitment target of 108 students. These maps show the geographic distribution of these applicants.

Summary

- The majority of applicants were still from the central belt.
- 91 (50%) of applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- Transitions 20/40 is yet to receive any applications from Na h-Eileanan Siar, Aberdeenshire, Clackmannanshire, Shetland, Orkney or Moray Councils.
- New local authorities represented were Falkirk, Aberdeen City, Dumfries and Galloway, Scottish Borders, West Dunbartonshire
- Although applications from Highland Council, East Ayrshire and East Dunbartonshire, South Ayrshire were received in 2013/14, none were received from these local authorities in 2014/15.
- The overall number of local authorities represented in the applications increased from 19 (59%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities in 2013/14 to 21 (66%) in the academic year 2014/15.
- 11 (34%) Local Authorities were not represented in applications for Transitions 20/40 in the academic year 2014/15.

SIMD Profile

- 71 (39%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 106 (58%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes
- 5 (3%) applications came from SIMD 60 postcodes and were ineligible.

T20/40 Applicants by Local Authority 2014/15

Local Authority	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Applicants
Glasgow City Council	91	23	38	6	12	12	50%
Edinburgh City Council	9	1	4	1	1	2	5%
Fife Council	3	1	1	1	0	0	2%
North Lanarkshire Council	17	5	6	1	3	2	9%
South Lanarkshire Council	5	1	1	2	1	0	3%
Aberdeenshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Highland Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Aberdeen City Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	1%
West Lothian Council	3	2	1	0	0	0	2%
Renfrewshire Council	4	0	2	1	1	0	2%
Falkirk Council	5	0	5	0	0	0	3%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Perth & Kinross Council	9	5	4	0	0	0	5%
Dundee City Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	1%
North Ayrshire Council	5	3	2	0	0	0	3%
East Ayrshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Scottish Borders	1	0	1	0	0	0	1%
South Ayrshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Angus Council	2	1	0	0	1	0	1%
East Dunbartonshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
East Lothian Council	1	0	0	0	1	0	1%
West Dunbartonshire Council	5	5	0	0	0	0	3%
Stirling Council	4	3	1	0	0	0	2%
East Renfrewshire Council	2	0	1	1	0	0	1%
Argyll & Bute Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Inverclyde Council	11	5	4	0	1	1	6%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Totals	182	58	73	13	21	17	
Percentage of Applicants	100%	32%	40%	7%	12%	9%	

Total Unique Local Authorities	21	15	16	7	8	4

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Applicants	71	27	23	7	11	3	39.01%
SIMD 20 Applicants	106	31	47	6	8	14	58.24%
Outlier (SIMD 60)	5	0	3	0	2	0	2.75%

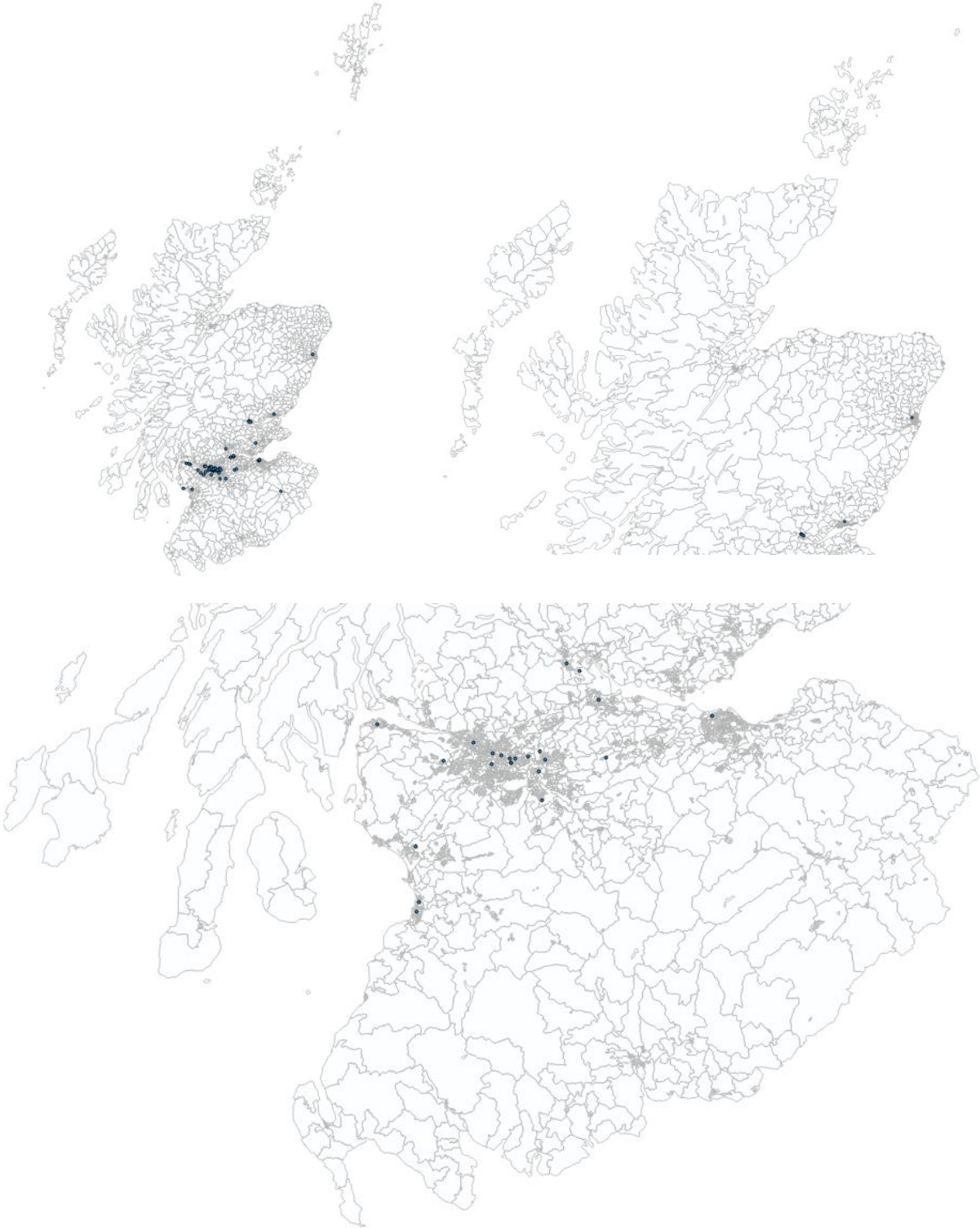
Applicants by discipline

Music

- 58 music applicants made up 32% of the applicants for 2014/15
- These applicants came from 15 (47%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 39% of music applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 27 (47%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 31 (53%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Drama

- 73 drama applicants made up 40% of the applicants for 2014/15
- These applicants came from 16 (50%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 52% of drama applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 23 (32%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 47 (64%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes
- 3 (4%) applications came from SIMD 60 postcodes and were ineligible.

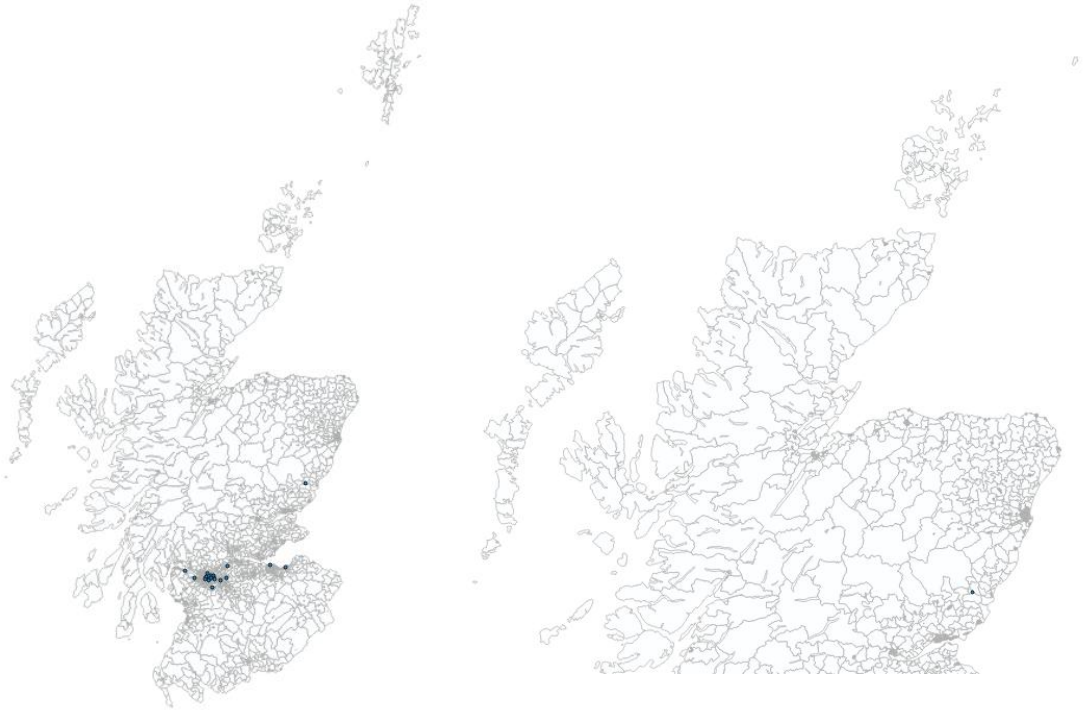


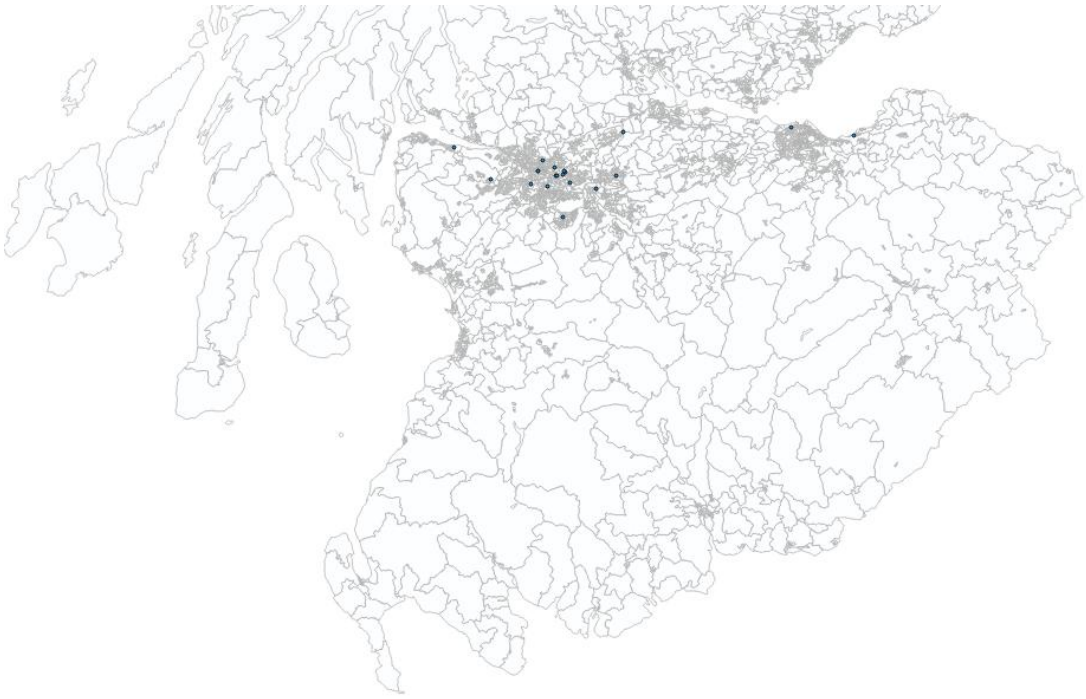
Ballet

- 13 ballet applicants made up 7% of the applicants for 2014/15
- These applicants came from 7 (22%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 46% of ballet applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 7 (54%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 6 (46%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Screen

- 21 screen applicants made up 12% of the applicants for 2014/15
- These applicants came from 8 (25%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 57% of screen applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 11 (52%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 8 (38%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes
- 2 (10%) applications came from SIMD 60 postcodes and were ineligible.





Production

- 17 production applicants made up 9% of the applicants for 2014/15
- These applicants came from 4 (12.5%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 71% of production applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 3 (18%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 14 (82%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

In 2014/15 Transitions 20/40 had 108 students, fulfilling its recruitment target of 108 students. These maps show the geographic distribution of these students.

Summary

- The majority of the cohort was still from the central belt.
- 40 (37%) the cohort was from Glasgow City Council and increase of 7% from 2013/14.
- Transitions 20/40 is yet to have any students from from 7 local authorities: Na h-Eileanan Siar, Aberdeenshire, East Ayrshire, Moray, Clackmannanshire, Shetland and Orkney Councils.
- 9 New local authorities are represented: Aberdeen City, West Lothian, Renfrewshire, Falkirk, Dumfries and Galloway, Scottish Borders, Angus, West Dunbartonshire and Argyll & Bute.
- Although students from Highland Council, South Ayrshire, East Dunbartonshire and Midlothian were part of Transitions 20/40 in 2013/14, none were in the cohort in 2014/15.
- The overall number of local authorities represented in the cohort increased from 16 (50%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities in 2013/14 to 21 (66%) in the academic year 2014/15.
- 11 (34%) Local Authorities were not represented in the Transitions 20/40 cohort in the academic year 2014/15.

SIMD Profile

- 42 (38%) of the cohort came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 67 (62%) of the cohort came from SIMD 20 postcodes

T20/40 Cohort by Local Authority 2014/15

Local Authority	Total Pupils	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Cohort
Glasgow City Council	40	11	9	5	6	9	37%
Edinburgh City Council	9	5	1	1	0	2	8%
Fife Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	2%
North Lanarkshire Council	15	7	4	1	2	1	14%
South Lanarkshire Council	4	0	1	3	0	0	4%
Aberdeenshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Highland Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	1%
Aberdeen City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Lothian Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Renfrewshire Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	2%
Falkirk Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	1%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Perth & Kinross Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	2%
Dundee City Council	3	1	2	0	0	0	3%
North Ayrshire Council	6	5	1	0	0	0	6%
East Ayrshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Scottish Borders Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	2	0	2	0	0	0	2%
Angus Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
East Dunbartonshire Council	0	1	0	0	0	0	1%
East Lothian Council	1	0	0	1	0	0	1%
West Dunbartonshire Council	4	4	0	0	0	0	4%
Stirling Council	6	4	2	0	0	0	6%
East Renfrewshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Argyll & Bute Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Inverclyde Council	5	3	1	0	0	1	5%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Totals	108	51	26	11	8	13	
Percentage of Cohort	100%	47%	24%	10%	7%	12%	

Total Unique Local Authorities	21	17	12	5	2	4

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Cohort	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Applicants	42	21	9	7	3	2	38.89%
SIMD 20 Applicants	67	30	17	4	5	11	62.04%

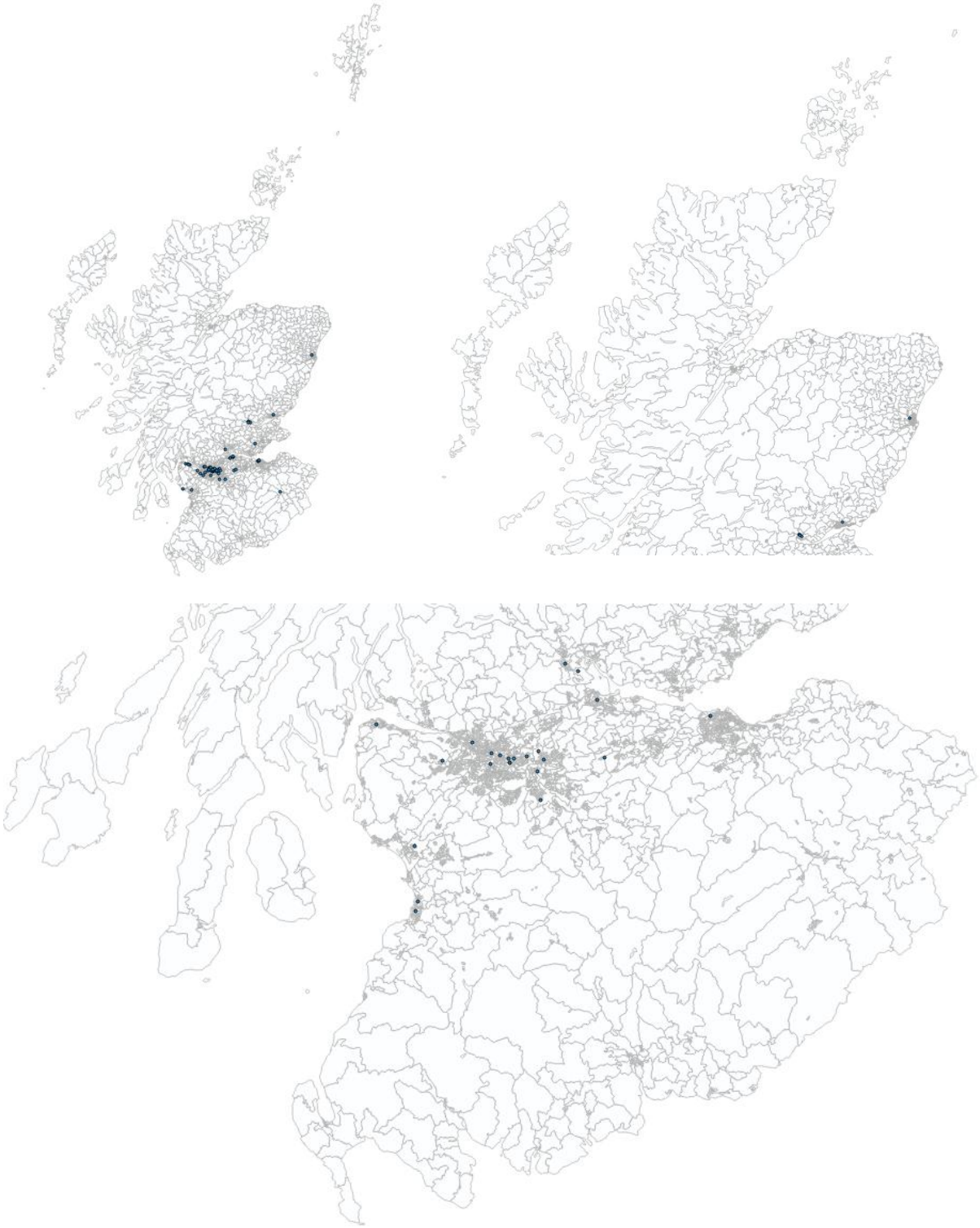
Cohort by discipline

Music

- 51 music students made up 47% of the cohort for 2014/15
- These students came from 17 (53%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 22% of music students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 21 (41%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 30 (59%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Drama

- 26 drama students made up 24% of the cohort for 2014/15
- These students came from 12 (38%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 35% of drama students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 9 (35%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 17 (65%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes



Ballet

- 11 ballet students made up 10% of the cohort for 2014/15
- These students came from 5 (16%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 45% of ballet students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 7 (64%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 4 (36%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Screen

- 8 screen students made up 7% of the cohort for 2014/15
- These students came from 2 (6%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 75% of screen students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 3 (38%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 5 (62%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Production

- 13 production students made up 12% of the cohort for 2014/15
- These students came from 4 (13%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 69% of production students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 2 (15%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 11 (85%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

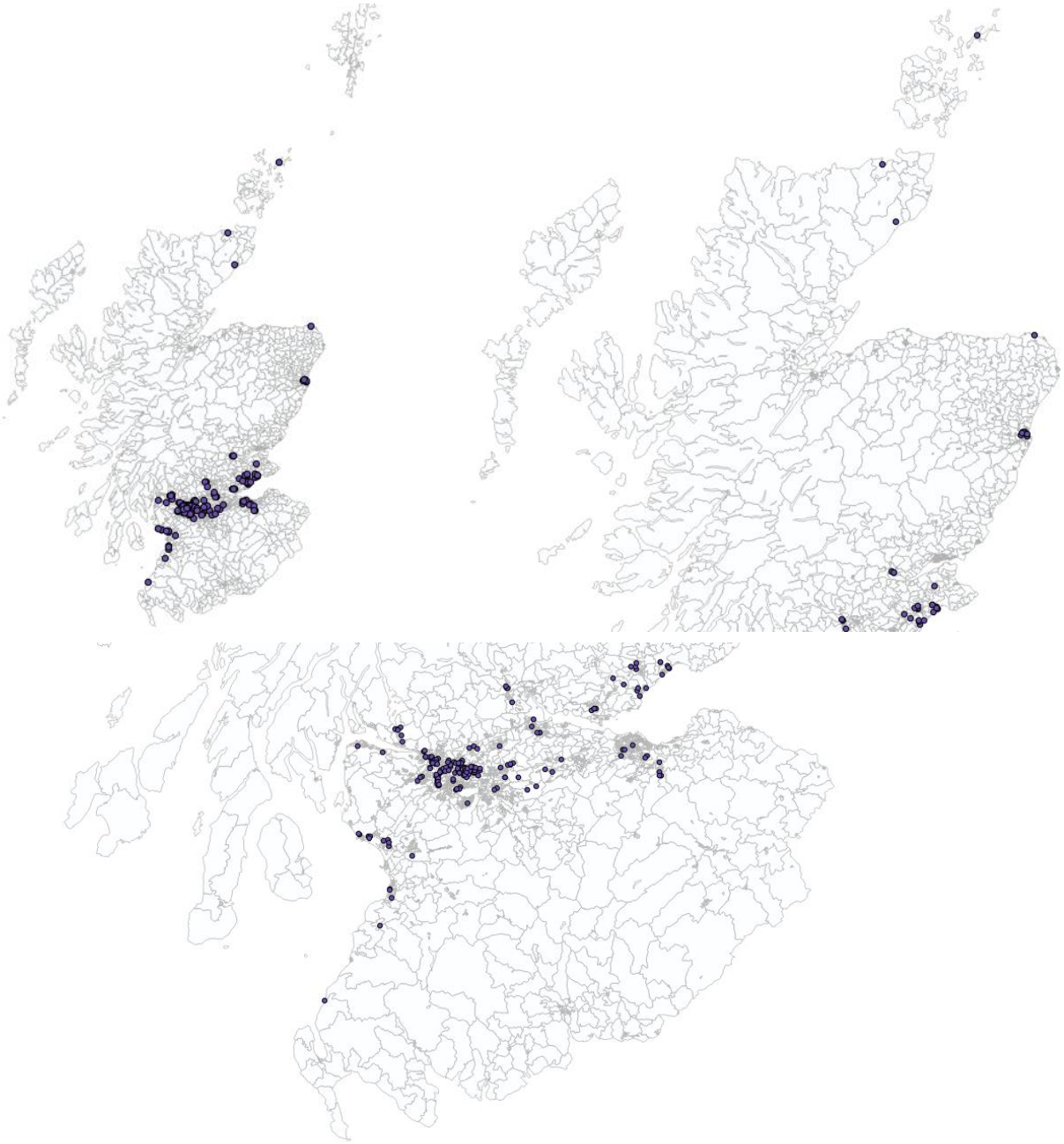
2015/16 Geographic Spread report

Transitions 20/40

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Part 1: Geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 applicants (2015/16)

In 2015/16 Transitions 20/40 received 206 applications. These maps show the geographic distribution of these applicants.



Summary

- The majority of applicants were still from the central belt.
- 96 (47%) of applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- Transitions 20/40 is yet to receive any applications from Na h-Eileanan Siar, Clackmannanshire, Shetland, or Moray Councils.
- New local authorities represented were Aberdeenshire and the Orkney Islands.
- The overall number of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities represented in the applications for 2015/16 remained at 21 (66%) from the academic year 2014/15, although those Local Authorities changed slightly.

SIMD Profile

- 80 (39%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 126 (61%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

T20/40 Applicants by Local Authority 2015/16

Local Authority	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Applicants
Glasgow City Council	96	17	57	1	12	9	47%
Edinburgh City Council	6	2	4	0	0	0	3%
Fife Council	22	3	16	0	1	2	11%
North Lanarkshire Council	13	6	4	0	1	2	6%
South Lanarkshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	0%
Aberdeenshire Council	1	0	0	0	0	1	0%
Highland Council	2	0	2	0	0	0	1%
Aberdeen City Council	6	0	4	0	1	1	3%
West Lothian Council	3	1	1	0	0	1	1%
Renfrewshire Council	6	1	4	1	0	0	3%
Falkirk Council	5	0	3	1	0	1	2%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Perth & Kinross Council	3	0	2	1	0	0	1%
Dundee City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
North Ayrshire Council	9	4	3	1	0	1	4%
East Ayrshire Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	0%
Scottish Borders Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	5	2	2	0	0	1	2%
Angus Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
East Dunbartonshire Council	3	1	2	0	0	0	1%
East Lothian Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Dunbartonshire Council	14	10	3	0	0	1	7%
Stirling Council	4	3	0	1	0	0	2%
East Renfrewshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Argyll & Bute Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	4	1	1	1	0	1	2%
Inverclyde Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	0%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	1	0	1	0	0	0	0%
Totals	206	52	111	7	15	21	
Percentage of Applicants	100%	25%	54%	3%	7%	10%	

Total Unique Local Authorities	21	13	18	7	4	11

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Applicants	80	26	42	2	5	5	38.83%
SIMD 20 Applicants	126	26	69	5	10	16	61.17%

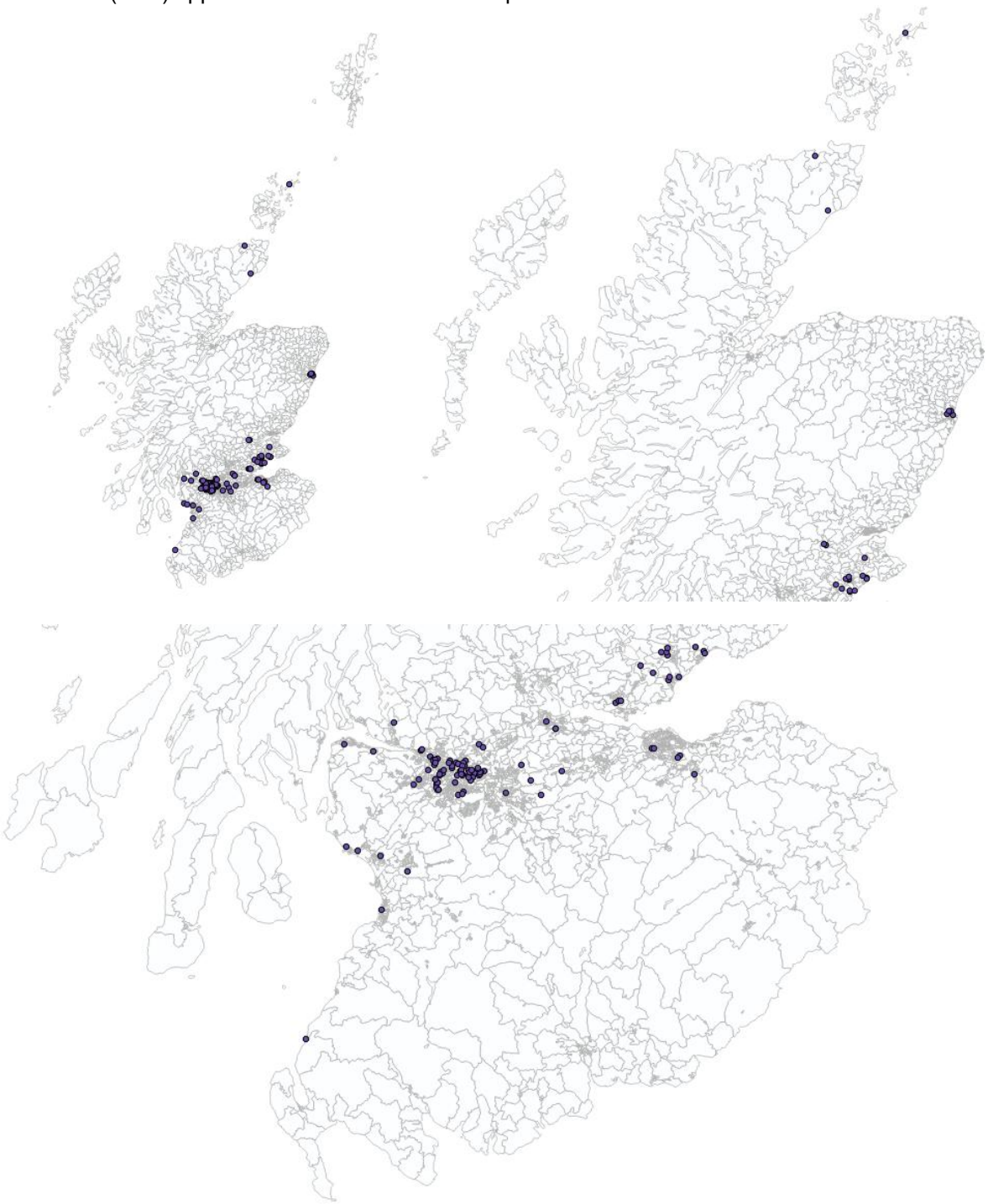
Applicants by discipline

Music

- 52 music applicants made up 25% of the applicants for 2015/16
- These applicants came from 13 (41%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 33% of music applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 26 (50%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 26 (50%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Drama

- 111 drama applicants made up 54% of the applicants for 2015/16
- These applicants came from 18 (56%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 51% of drama applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 42 (38%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 69 (62%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes



Ballet

- 7 ballet applicants made up 3% of the applicants for 2015/16
- These applicants came from 7 (22%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 14% of ballet applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 2 (29%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 5 (71%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Screen

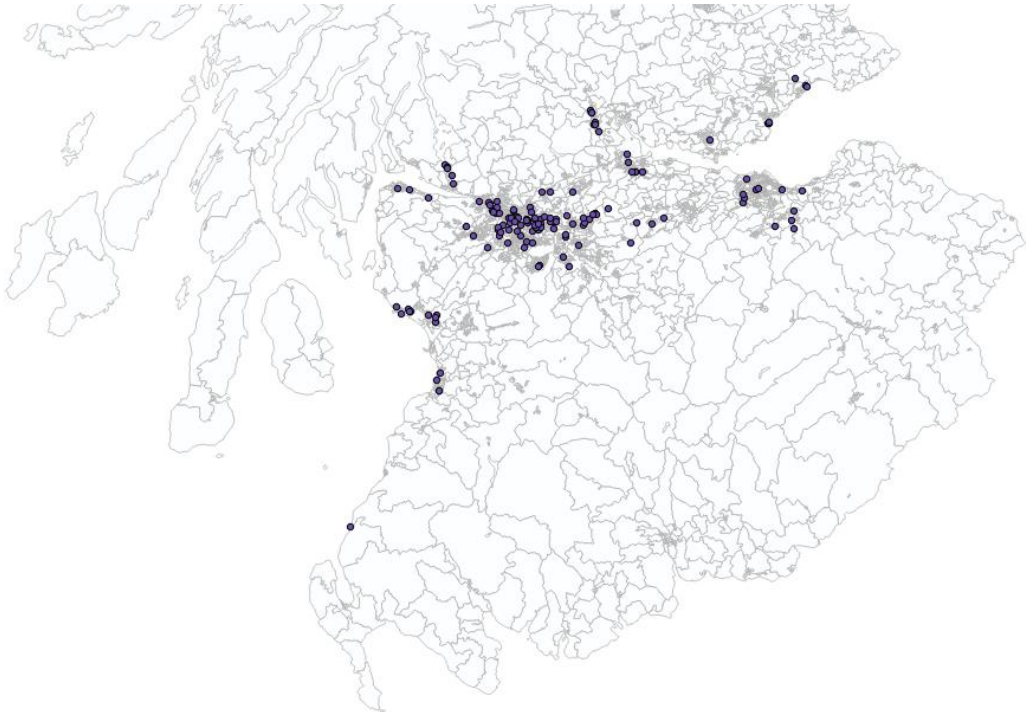
- 15 screen applicants made up 7% of the applicants for 2015/16
- These applicants came from 4 (12.5%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 80% of screen applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 5 (33%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 10 (67%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Production

- 21 production applicants made up 10% of the applicants for 2015/16
- These applicants came from 11 (34%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 43% of production applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 5 (24%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 16 (76%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Part 2: Geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 cohort (2015/16)

In 2015/16 Transitions 20/40 had 152 students. These maps show the geographic distribution of these students.



Summary

- The majority of the cohort was still from the central belt.
- 55 (36%) the cohort was from Glasgow City Council. This was a 1% decrease from 2014/15
- Transitions 20/40 is yet to have any students from from 8 local authorities: Dumfries & Galloway, Na h-Eileanan Siar, East Ayrshire, Moray, Clackmannanshire, Shetland and Orkney Councils.
- 2 new local authorities were represented this year: Aberdeenshire and Aberdeen City.
- The overall number of local authorities represented in the cohort increased from 21 (66%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities in 2014/15 to 23 (72%) in the academic year 2015/16.

SIMD Profile

- 62 (41%) of the cohort came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 90 (59%) of the cohort came from SIMD 20 postcodes

T20/40 Cohort by Local Authority 2015/16

Local Authority	Total Pupils	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Cohort
Glasgow City Council	55	13	18	3	12	9	36%
Edinburgh City Council	7	5	1	1	0	0	5%
Fife Council	7	2	4	0	0	1	5%
North Lanarkshire Council	16	7	4	1	3	1	11%
South Lanarkshire Council	5	1	1	3	0	0	3%
Aberdeenshire Council	1	0	0	0	0	1	1%
Highland Council	3	0	3	0	0	0	2%
Aberdeen City Council	1	0	0	0	0	1	1%
West Lothian Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
Renfrewshire Council	2	0	2	0	0	0	1%
Falkirk Council	6	1	3	1	0	1	4%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Perth & Kinross Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	1%
Dundee City Council	2	0	2	0	0	0	1%
North Ayrshire Council	9	5	3	0	0	1	6%
East Ayrshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Scottish Borders Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	5	2	2	0	0	1	3%
Angus Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
East Dunbartonshire Council	3	2	1	0	0	0	2%
East Lothian Council	1	0	0	1	0	0	1%
West Dunbartonshire Council	9	8	0	0	0	1	6%
Stirling Council	7	5	1	1	0	0	5%
East Renfrewshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Argyll & Bute Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	4	2	0	1	0	1	3%
Inverclyde Council	3	2	1	0	0	0	2%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Totals	152	60	47	12	15	18	
Percentage of Cohort	100%	39%	31%	8%	10%	12%	

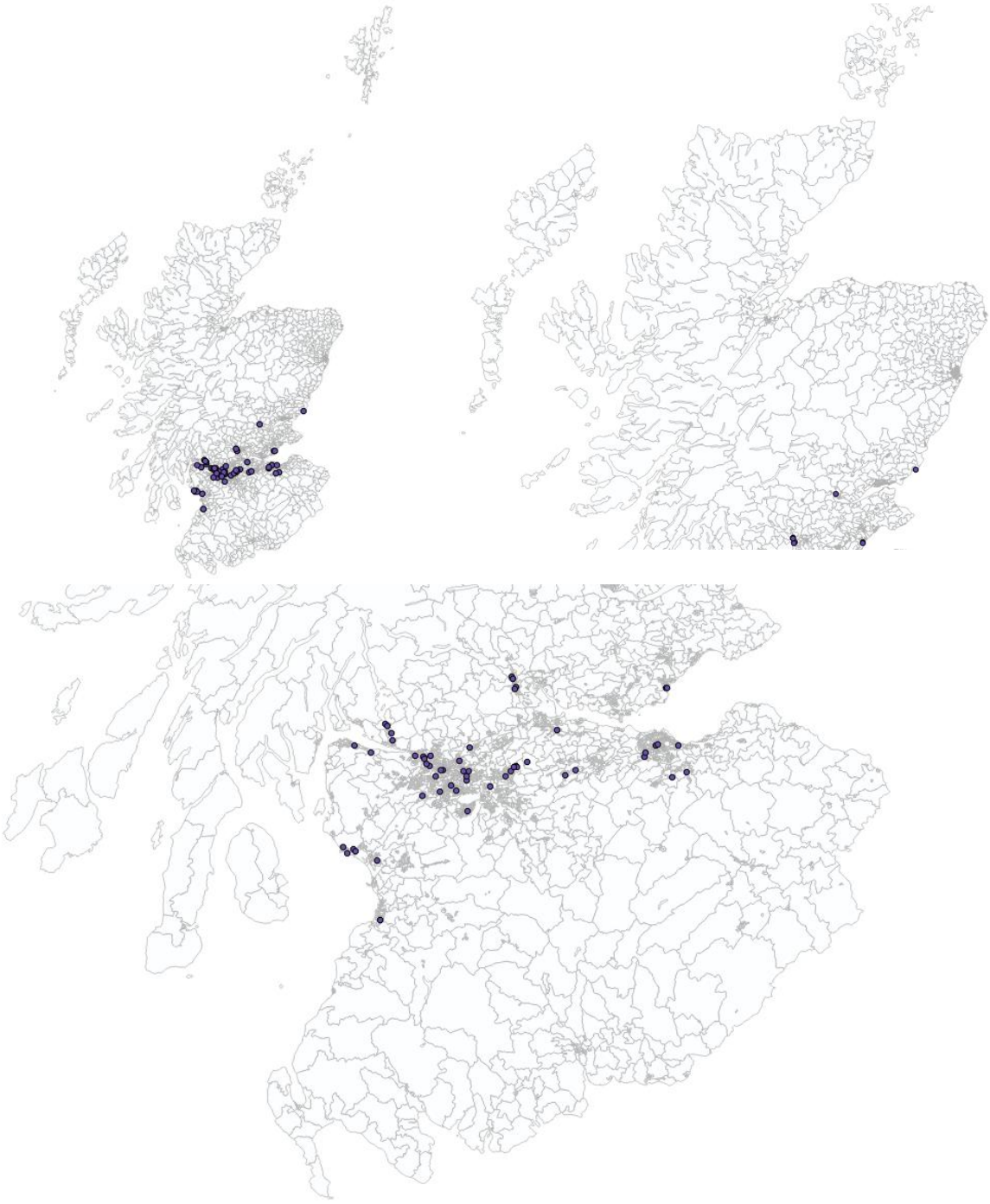
Total Unique Local Authorities	23	17	15	8	2	10

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Cohort	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Students	62	27	19	8	5	3	40.79%
SIMD 20 Students	90	33	28	4	10	15	59.21%

Cohort by discipline

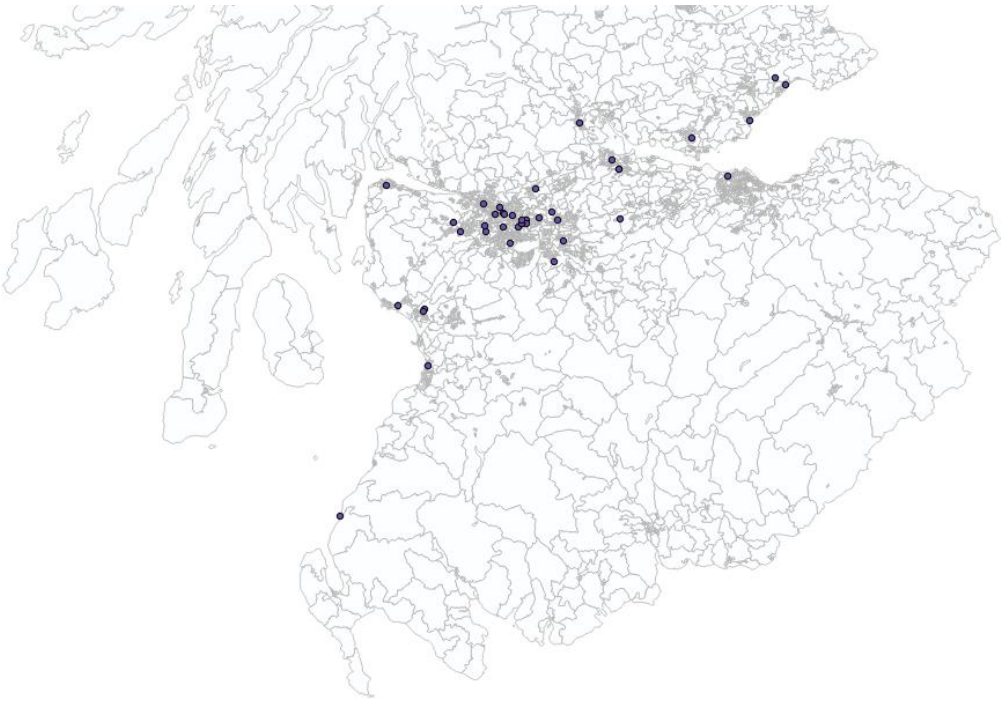
Music

- 60 music students made up 39% of the cohort for 2015/16
- These students came from 17 (53%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 22% of music students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 27 (45%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 33 (55%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes



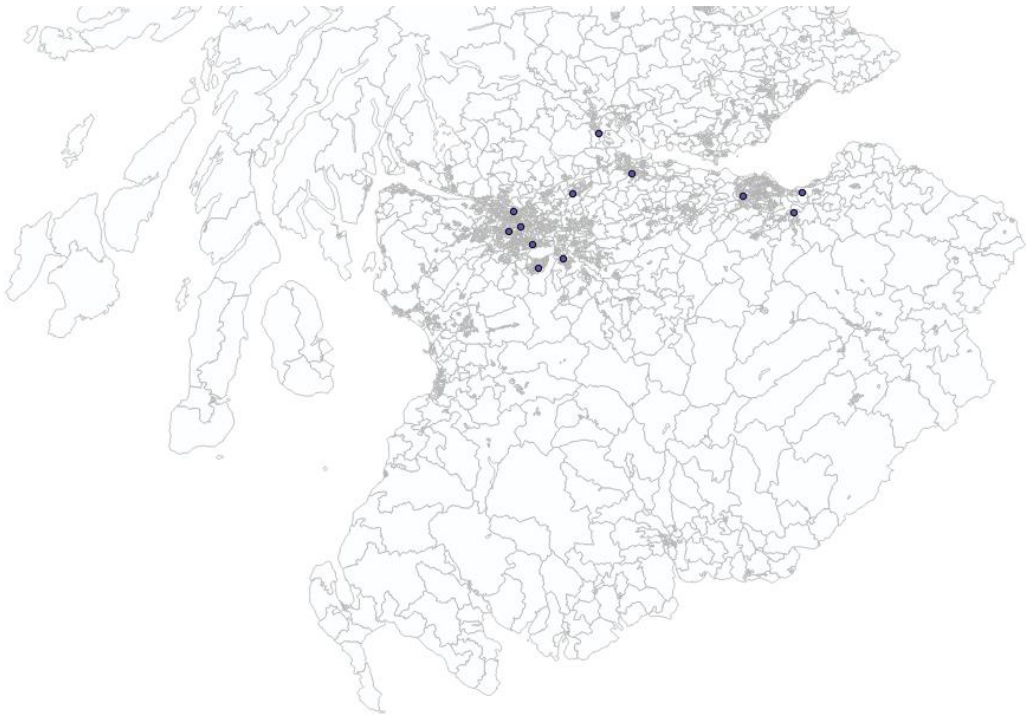
Drama

- 47 drama students made up 31% of the cohort for 2015/16
- These students came from 15 (47%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 37% of drama students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 19 (40%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 28 (60%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes



Ballet

- 12 ballet students made up 8% of the cohort for 2015/16
- These students came from 8 (25%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 38% of drama students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 8 (67%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 4 (33%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

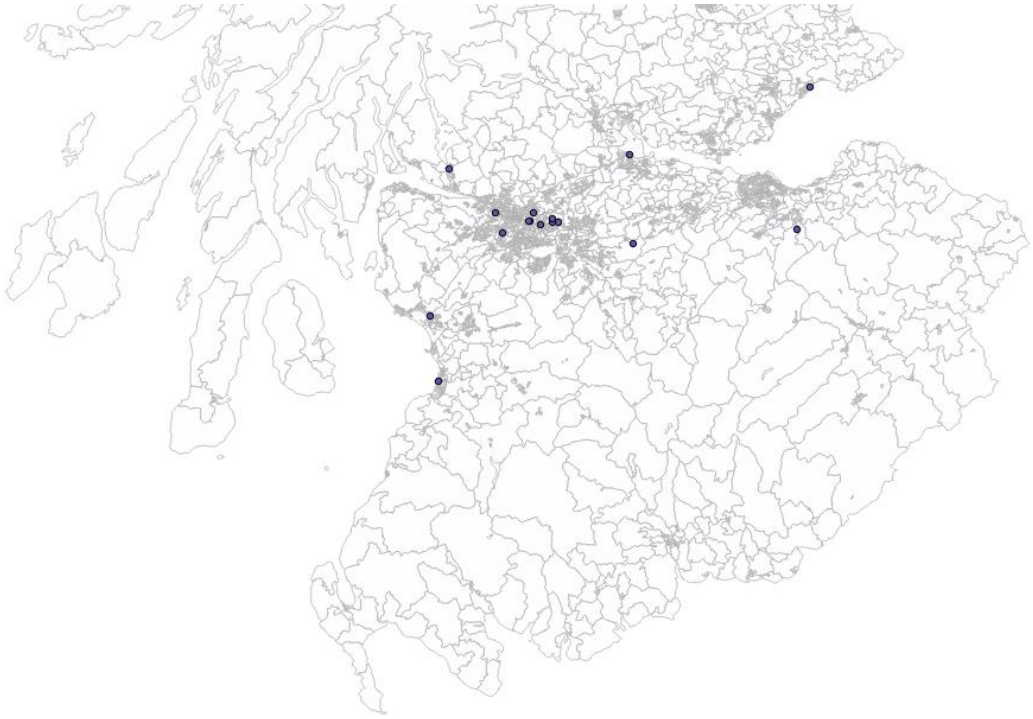


Screen

- 15 screen students made up 10% of the cohort for 2015/16
- These students came from 2 (6%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 80% of screen students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 5 (33%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 10 (67%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Production

- 18 production students made up 12% of the cohort for 2015/16
- These students came from 10 (31%) of Scotland's Local Authorities.
- 50% of production students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 3 (17%) students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 15 (83%) students came from SIMD 20 postcodes



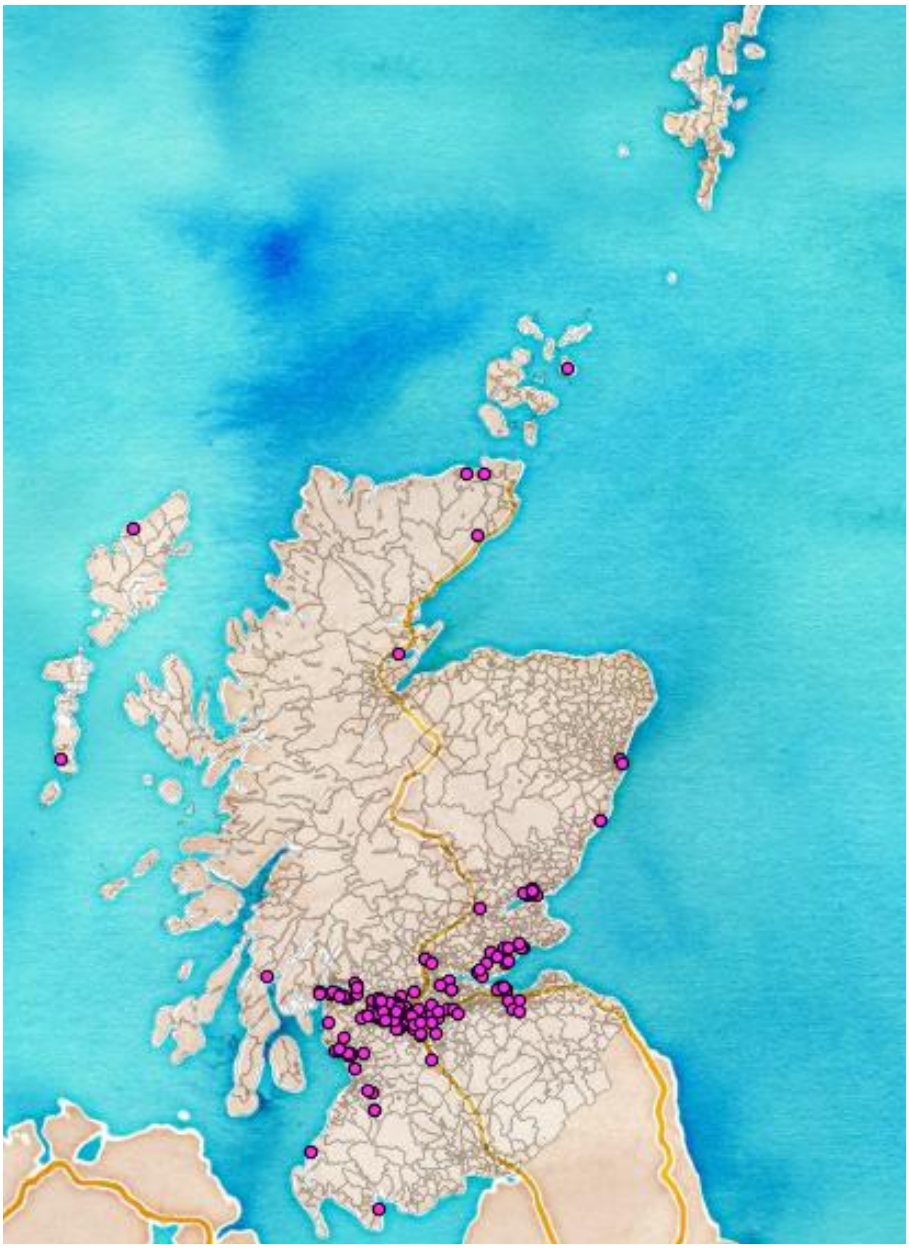
2016/17 Geographic Spread report

Transitions 20/40

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Part 1: Geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 applicants (2016/17)

In 2016/17 Transitions 20/40 received 262 applications. This map shows the geographic distribution of these applicants.



Summary

- The majority of applicants were still from the central belt. This is unlikely to change as this is where the majority of SIMD datazones are.
- 120 (46%) of applicants came from Glasgow City Council.
- This year Transitions 20/40 did not receive any applications from Borders, Angus, East Lothian, East Renfrewshire, Moray, Clackmannanshire or Shetland Councils.
- In its entire duration Transitions 20/40 is yet to receive any applications from Clackmannanshire, Shetland, or Moray Councils, although one applicant for the Junior Conservatoire of Music from Clackmannanshire was found to be eligible for T20/40 in 2016/17 without directly applying for it.
- Na h-Eileanan Siar was represented among applications for the first time.
- The overall number of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities represented in the applications for 2016 /17 increased to 25 from 21 in the academic year 2015/16.

SIMD Profile

- 118 (45.04%) applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 144 (54.96%) applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

T20/40 Applicants by Local Authority 2016/17

Local Authority	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Applicants
Glasgow City Council	120	31	58	4	12	15	46%
Edinburgh City Council	12	3	6	1	1	1	5%
Fife Council	13	3	8	0	1	1	5%
North Lanarkshire Council	13	3	5	1	4	0	5%
South Lanarkshire Council	11	3	4	2	2	0	4%
Aberdeenshire Council	1	0	0	0	1	0	0%
Highland Council	4	2	0	0	0	2	2%
Aberdeen City Council	3	1	1	1	0	0	1%
West Lothian Council	3	0	3	0	0	0	1%
Renfrewshire Council	10	5	5	0	0	0	4%
Falkirk Council	7	2	4	1	0	0	3%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	0%
Perth & Kinross Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	0%
Dundee City Council	9	3	4	0	0	2	3%
North Ayrshire Council	12	4	4	1	3	0	5%
East Ayrshire Council	5	2	1	1	1	0	2%
Scottish Borders Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	2	1	0	0	0	1	1%
Angus Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
East Dunbartonshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	0%
East Lothian Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Dunbartonshire Council	12	7	3	1	0	1	5%
Stirling Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	1%
East Renfrewshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Argyll & Bute Council	3	1	1	0	1	0	1%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	3	1	1	0	0	1	1%
Inverclyde Council	11	2	6	0	2	1	4%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	1	0	1	0	0	0	0%
Totals	262	79	117	13	28	25	
Percentage of Applicants	100%	30%	45%	5%	11%	10%	

Total Unique Local Authorities	25	21	19	9	10	9

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Total Applicants	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Applicants	118	39	45	11	12	11	45.04%
SIMD 20 Applicants	144	40	72	2	16	14	54.96%

Applicants by discipline

Music

- 79 music applicants made up 30% of the applications for 2016/17
- These applicants came from 21 different local authorities.
- 39% of music applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 39 applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 40 applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Drama

- 117 drama applicants made up 45% of the applicants for 2016/17
- These applicants came from 19 different local authorities.
- 50% of drama applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 45 applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 72 applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Ballet

- 13 ballet applicants made up 5% of the applications for 2016/17
- These applicants came from 9 different local authorities.
- 43% of ballet applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 11 applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 2 applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Screen

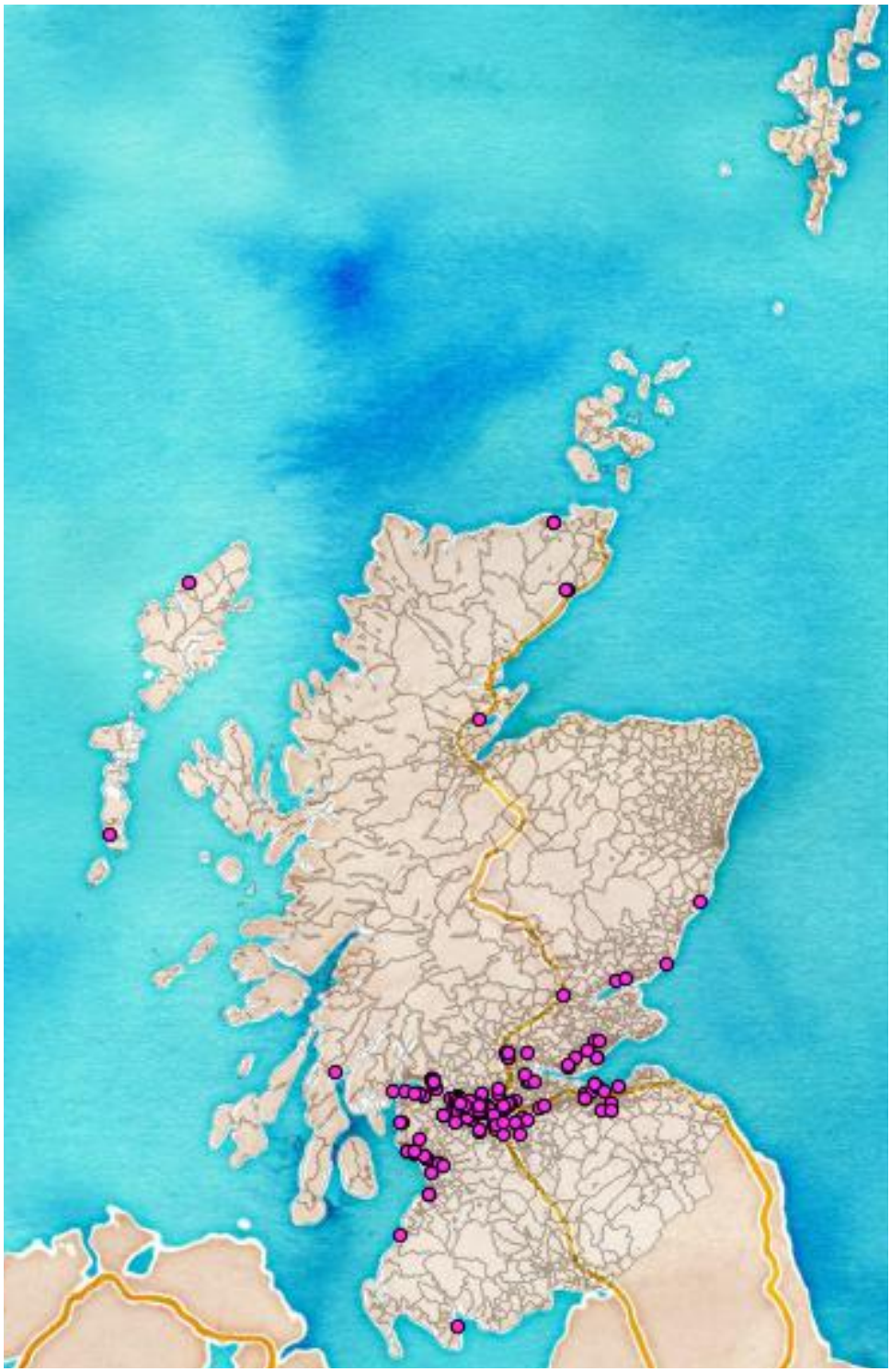
- 28 screen applicants made up 11% of the applications for 2016/17
- These applicants came from 10 different local authorities.
- 43% of screen applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 12 applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 16 applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Production

- 25 production applicants made up 10% of the applications for 2016/17
- These applicants came from 9 different local authorities
- 60% of production applicants were from Glasgow City Council.
- 11 applications came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 14 applications came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Part 2: Geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 cohort (2016/17)

In 2016/17 Transitions 20/40 had 189 students. This map shows the geographic distribution of these students



Summary

- The majority of the cohort was still from the central belt.
- 67 (35%) of the cohort was from Glasgow City Council. This was a further 1% decrease from 2016/17, continuing this trend from previous years. This is due to greater representation of other local authorities.
- This year Transitions 20/40 had students for the first time from Na h-Eileanan Siar, Clackmannanshire, Dumfries & Galloway and East Ayrshire councils.
- Over its entire duration Transitions 20/40 is yet to have any students from from 4 local authorities: Borders, Moray, Shetland and Orkney Councils.
- This year Aberdeen City Council was also not represented due to that student transitioning out of the programme.
- The overall number of local authorities represented in the cohort increased from 23 2015/16 to 27 in the academic year 2016/17.

SIMD Profile

- 81 of the cohort came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 96 of the cohort came from SIMD 20 postcodes

T20/40 Cohort by Local Authority 2016/17

Local Authority	Total Pupils	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Cohort
Glasgow City Council	67	15	28	3	10	11	35%
Edinburgh City Council	9	6	0	1	1	1	5%
Fife Council	8	0	6	0	1	1	4%
North Lanarkshire Council	18	6	4	2	5	1	10%
South Lanarkshire Council	9	2	2	4	1	0	5%
Aberdeenshire Council	1	0	0	0	1	0	1%
Highland Council	5	1	2	0	0	2	3%
Aberdeen City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Lothian Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
Renfrewshire Council	8	3	5	0	0	0	4%
Falkirk Council	5	1	1	2	0	1	3%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Perth & Kinross Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Dundee City Council	2	1	0	0	0	1	1%
North Ayrshire Council	13	7	2	1	3	0	7%
East Ayrshire Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
Scottish Borders Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	4	2	0	0	1	1	2%
Angus Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
East Dunbartonshire Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
East Lothian Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	1%
West Dunbartonshire Council	9	5	1	1	0	2	5%
Stirling Council	5	3	2	0	0	0	3%
East Renfrewshire Council	2	1	0	0	1	0	1%
Argyll & Bute Council	2	1	0	0	1	0	1%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	3	1	0	1	0	1	2%
Inverclyde Council	6	2	2	0	2	0	3%
Clackmannanshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	1%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	2	2	0	0	0	0	1%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Totals	189	69	56	15	27	22	
Percentage of Cohort	100%	37%	30%	8%	14%	12%	

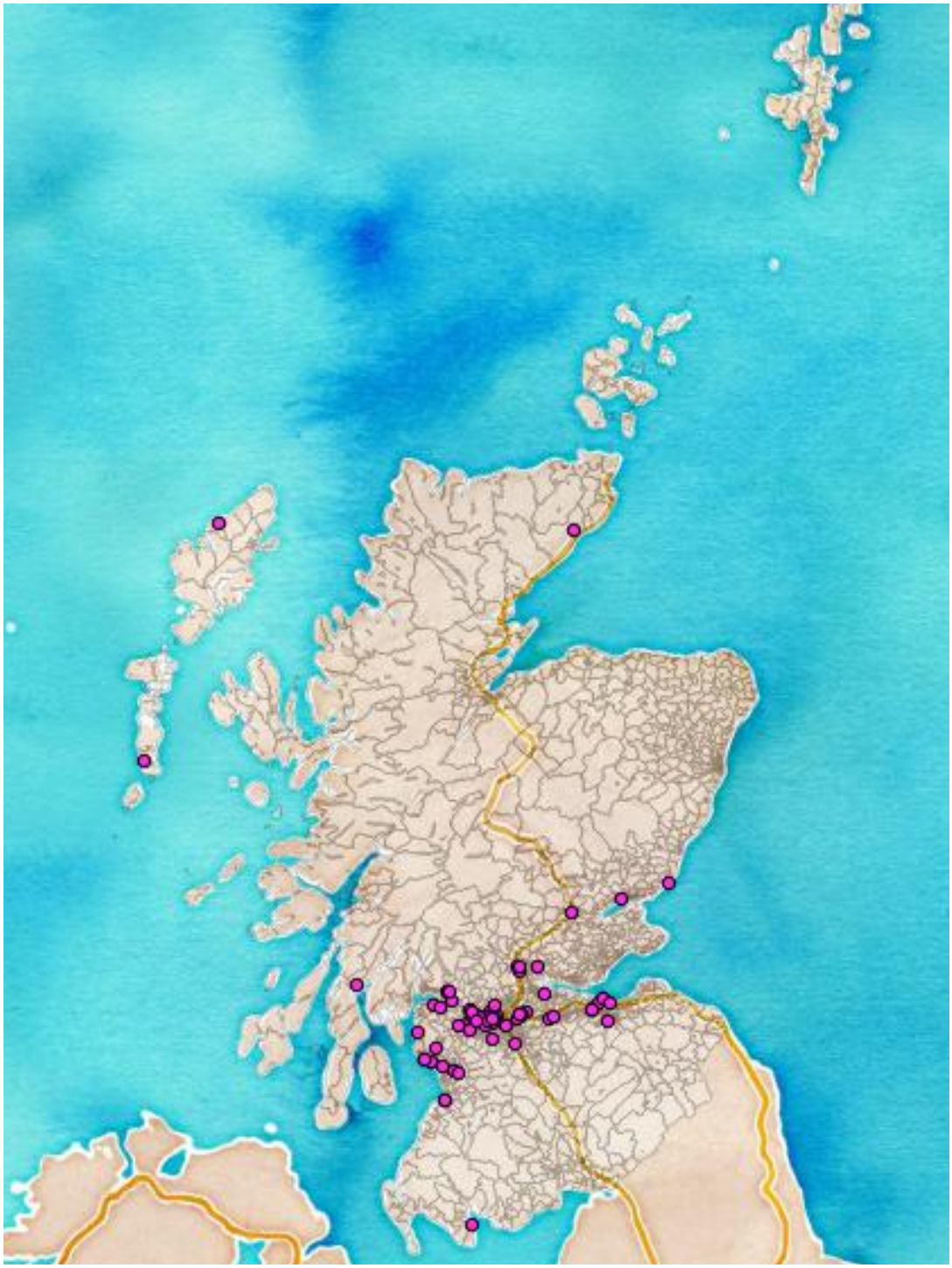
Total Unique Local Authorities	27	24	12	8	11	10

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Cohort	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Students	81	32	20	13	12	9	42.86%
SIMD 20 Students	96	37	36	2	15	13	50.79%

Cohort by discipline

Music

- 67 music students made up 37% of the cohort for 2016/17
- These students came from 24 different local authorities.
- 22% of music students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 32 students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 37 students came from SIMD 20 postcodes



Drama

- 56 drama students made up 30% of the cohort for 2016/17
- These students came from 12 different local authorities
- 50% of drama students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 20 students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 36 students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Ballet

- 15 ballet students made up 8% of the cohort for 2016/17
- These students came from 8 different local authorities.
- 20% of ballet students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 13 students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 2 students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Screen

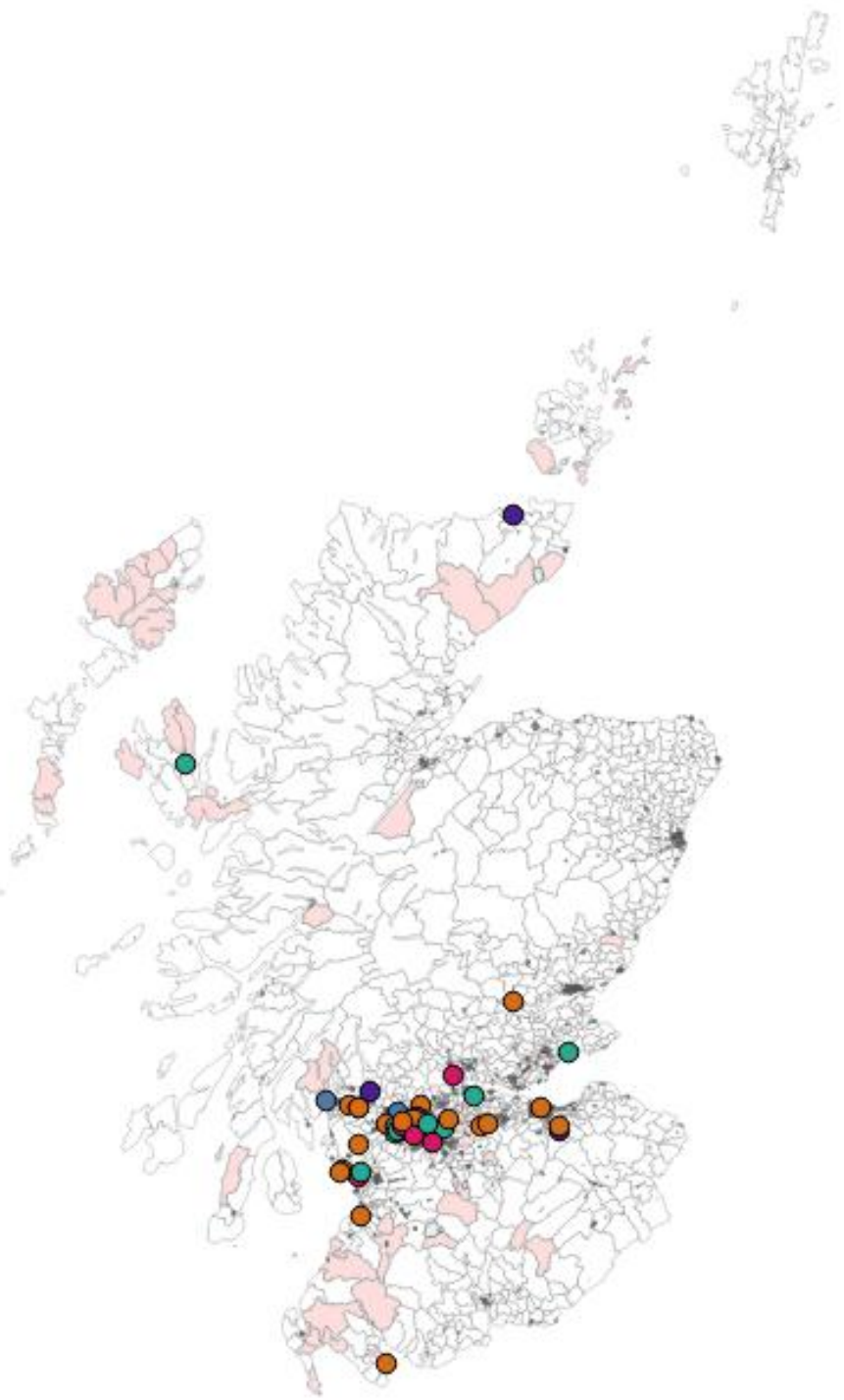
- 27 screen students made up 14% of the cohort for 2016/17
- These students came from 11 different local authorities, marking a notable improvement from 2 last year.
- 67% of screen students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 12 students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 15 students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Production

- 22 production students made up 12% of the cohort for 2016/17
- These students came from 10 different local authorities.
- 50% of production students were from Glasgow City Council.
- 9 students came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 13 students came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Geographic spread of research sample

The research sample is displayed here with corresponding colours to art form discipline, blue areas showing SIMD 20 datazones, and pink areas showing SIMD 40 datazones.



T20/40 Research Sample by Local Authority 2013-2017

Local Authority	Total Pupils	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	% of Sample
Glasgow City Council	18	5	5	1	5	2	38%
Edinburgh City Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
Fife Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	2%
North Lanarkshire Council	2	1	1	0	0	0	4%
South Lanarkshire Council	2	0	0	2	0	0	4%
Aberdeenshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Highland Council	2	0	1	0	0	1	4%
Aberdeen City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Lothian Council	2	2	0	0	0	0	4%
Renfrewshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
Falkirk Council	1	0	1	0	0	0	2%
Dumfries and Galloway Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
Perth & Kinross Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
Dundee City Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
North Ayrshire Council	5	3	1	1	0	0	11%
East Ayrshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Scottish Borders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
South Ayrshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
Angus Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
East Dunbartonshire Council	1	1	0	0	0	0	2%
East Lothian Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
West Dunbartonshire Council	1	0	0	0	0	1	2%
Stirling Council	1	0	0	1	0	0	2%
East Renfrewshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Argyll and Bute Council	1	0	0	0	1	0	2%
Moray Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Midlothian Council	2	1	0	0	0	1	4%
Inverclyde Council	3	2	0	0	0	1	6%
Clackmannanshire Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Na h-Eileanan Siar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Shetland Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Orkney Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Totals	47	20	10	5	6	6	
Percentage of Cohort	100%	43%	21%	11%	13%	13%	

Total Unique Local Authorities	19	12	6	4	2	5

SIMD BREAKDOWN	Total Cohort	Music	Drama	Ballet	Screen	Production	%
SIMD 40 Students	24	11	5	3	3	2	51.06%
SIMD 20 Students	23	9	5	2	3	4	48.94%

Summary

- The majority of the research sample was from the central belt.
- 18 (38%) of the cohort was from Glasgow City Council.
- The research sample covered 19 of Scotland's 32 local authority areas (59%).
- The research sample did recruit participants from 13 local authorities: Aberdeenshire, Aberdeen City, Dundee City, East Ayrshire, Scottish Borders, Angus, East Lothian, East Renfrewshire, Moray, Clackmannanshire, Na h-Eileanan Siar, Orkney or Councils.

SIMD Profile

- 24 of the sample came from SIMD 40 postcodes
- 23 of the sample came from SIMD 20 postcodes

Appendix 5

Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework with expected age and stage

This is an abridged version of the standard SCQF framework as defined by the SQA, including only the qualifications referenced directly in this thesis. This diagram also includes the expected age and stage in relation to Scottish secondary schools.

Expected Secondary school year	Age for school year (Ranging from start to end of school year)	SCQF Level	SQA Qualification			HE Qualifications
		12			Professional development award	Doctoral Degree
		11				Masters Degree,
		10				Honours Degree
		9				Bachelors/Ordinary Degree
		8		HND		Diploma of Higher Education
S6	Aged 16-18	7	Advanced Higher	HNC		Certificate of Higher Education
S5	Aged 15-17	6	Higher			
S4	Aged 14-16	5	National 5			
S3	Aged 13-15	4	National 4	NC	NPA	
S2	Aged 12-14	3				
S1	Aged 11-13	2				
P7	Aged 10-12	1				

Appendix 6

Field notes from SIMD briefing at RCS

**notes have been redacted to remove names of participants.*

SIMD Training Day

Summary Report

Wed 12th March 2014.

Royal Conservatoire of Scotland,

Conference Room, 10am-12pm.

Session led by Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics representatives.

RCS representatives in Attendance:

- Short Courses Development Manager
- Transitions 20/40 Co-Ordinator
- Transitions 20/40 Administrator
- Tutor, Entry to the Creative Industries
- Head of Research and Knowledge Exchange
- Lecturer in Research (Drama)
- Transitions 20/40 PhD Student

Introduction

This training was organized to expand on existing knowledge about the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation for those that use it. The SIMD is used as the eligibility criteria for Transitions 20/40. If an applicant is a resident in the 20% or 40% most deprived *datazones* in the SIMD and demonstrates the potential to progress to Conservatoire undergraduate level, they will receive a fully funded place on Transitions 20/40, in line with the funding agreement with the Scottish Funding Council.

How the training was organized

The Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics department were contacted by the Transitions 20/40 research student to improve their own knowledge of the SIMD. This is important in the research study, as one of the research questions addresses the reach and suitability of the existing selection criteria for Transitions 20/40. If enough interested participants were identified in the RCS, the SNS representatives agreed to deliver training in the Conservatoire at no cost. Interest in the training session was expressed within the Short Courses and Research departments at the RCS.

Structure of the Training

The session lasted for two hours in total, with the first hour consisting of a structured presentation delivered by SNS. The second hour was spent addressing user questions and engaged in discussion.

Part one- Presentation

The SNS representatives delivered a presentation entitled ‘Intro to SIMD’ which affirmed a lot of existing knowledge about the SIMD.

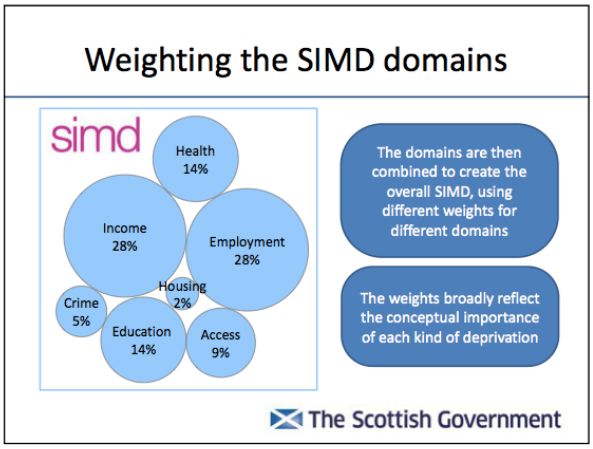
• SIMD is the official tool for identifying concentrations of deprivation in Scotland. It provides a relative measure of deprivation across small areas in Scotland

• A common misconception is that deprivation is measured purely on a financial basis. This SIMD operates under the principle that deprivation is not one-dimensional.

The SIMD recognizes seven aspects of deprivation in the construction of its rankings: Employment, Income, Health, Education, Access to Services, Crime & Housing. These seven *domains* are informed by quantifiable data from 38 *indicators*. It collects this information from *datazones*, which up until now had been interchangeable with postcodes. There are roughly 800 people in every *datazone*, and the quantifiable information within each domain takes into account statistical information gathered. For example;

- The Employment domain counts people claiming unemployment benefit
- The Income domain takes counts people are claiming benefit for low income
- The Education domain is based on tariff scores
- Health is based on standardized ratios
- Access is determined by travel time by car/public transport to services
- Housing takes into account the number of people per house

Not every *domain* is assigned the same importance in indicating deprivation, and they each are assigned a different weighting, illustrated by the table below:



Ranking *Datazones*

Once the data has been collected from each of the *indicators*, combined within the *domains*, and then put together using the SIMD's weighting system, each *datazone* has a total numeric value based on its levels of multiple deprivation. This is not the final SIMD value, but rather a value that is used to compare this *datazone* to other *datazones*.

There are 6505 *datazones* in Scotland, and each of the *datazones* is ranked according to the statistical measurement of multiple deprivation. In this sense, it is a relative indication of deprivation, rather than a deprivation 'score'**.**

What the SIMD is, and what it is not.

- Deprivation in the SIMD is relative. It is a rank, not a deprivation score. Rank 50 is not necessarily twice as deprived as rank 100.
- It does not tell us how much more deprived one area is in comparison to another one.
- It ranks geographical clusters of deprivation, not individual deprivation.
- It is complex and is not exclusively financially based, which is a common misconception
- The SIMD does not allow absolute comparisons over time, due to boundary changes, population shifts and changing policy (e.g. welfare reform).

Part two- Discussion

In the second hour of the training the SNS representatives opened the discussion up for questions. Open and frank discussion preceded this, and where explanations of SIMD shortcomings and anomalies were given using illustrative examples of applicants to Transitions 20/40. These examples ranged from applicants having inconclusive SIMD rankings, to applicants being ranked as ineligible despite their clear need for the funding and support that Transitions 20/40 provides.

Some real life and theoretical examples raised the following considerations:

- The use of standardized ratios in the health domain means that it takes into account people who develop illnesses, but not those who are permanently disabled or incapacitated.
- The weightings of the SIMD Domains are fairly arbitrary- it is uncertain how these weightings were arrived at.
- The SIMD is constructed using Census Output Areas. These are the *datazones* that are ranked, not postcode areas. The RCS is using postcode lookups, meaning there are postcodes that span different *datazones*, and vice versa. This is where inconsistences and anomalies appear.
- Postcodes can change at the whim of the Royal Mail. Census Output Areas do not. However, Postcodes are the easiest and most recognizable way of identifying a Census Output Area, and are similar enough for it to be a reliable way of identifying an SIMD datazone.
- The NRS (National Records of Scotland) has the most accurate version of the SIMD 2012 postcode look-up.
- The SIMD fully recognizes that it picks out area concentrations, and does not identify deprived individuals. It is contextual.
- Exemplifying its inability to provide absolute comparison over time, the Short Courses Development Manager raised that the introduction of

the N4 could take a while to take effect in the Education domain of the SIMD, as it is constructed over an average of 3-4 years.

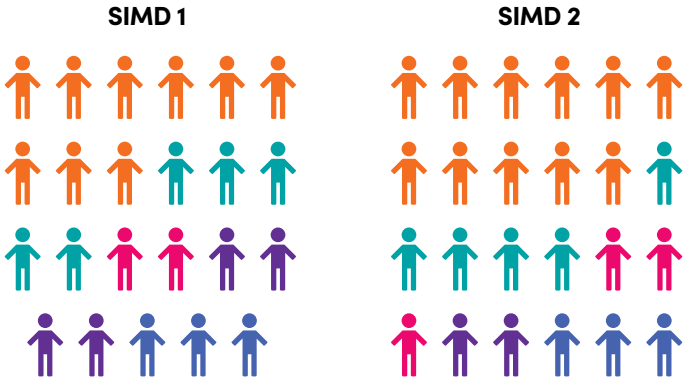
- Ethical issues were raised by the lecturer in research (Drama)- labeling and using SIMD as a badge of honor in the same way as ASBO once was.

Moving forward; using the information learned during the SIMD training day;

- The SIMD is an impressively constructed, complex and essential tool for area profiling, resource allocation and appropriate targeting of interventions. However, SNS were very clear about its limitations.
- The Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics representatives put forward the suggestion that the SIMD should be used as part of a larger 'basket of tools', including local knowledge and other data sources. This has been incorporated at some other institutions.
- There must be a period of reflection and research following the training to ensure the next steps taken are considered and in line with the funding agreement with the Scottish Funding Council.
- Transitions 20/40 will continue using the existing postcode look up system, but evidence presented today does hint that there are better ways of using and applying the current SIMD.
- As this training session was presented as part of a wider review of the SIMD, it might also be prudent to wait until the potential SIMD 2015 is published. User-suggested improvements that are already being worked on by the Scottish Government include-
    a) A better way of measuring deprivation in rural areas
    b) A way of measuring individual deprivation
    c) Additional profiling taking into account pensioners, children & equalities groups.
    d) Adjustment of the existing indicators & domains.

Appendix 7

SIMD analysis of research sample



SIMD categorisation by Artistic Discipline

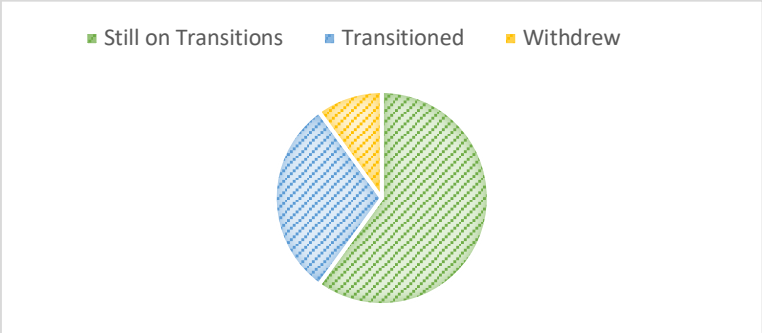
SIMD 20 (Quintile 1)				**SIMD 40** (Quintile 2)		
	(n)	Percentage			(n)	Percentage
Overall	23	49%		**Overall**	24	51%
Music	9	45%		**Music**	11	55%
Drama	5	50%		**Drama**	5	50%
Ballet	2	40%		**Ballet**	3	60%
Production	4	67%		**Production**	2	33%
Screen	3	50%		**Screen**	3	50%

SIMD categorisation by Year of Intake

SIMD 20 (Quintile 1)				**SIMD 40** (Quintile 2)		
	(n)	Percentage			(n)	Percentage
Overall	23	49%		**Overall**	24	51%
2013	3	38%		**2013**	5	63%
2014	5	56%		**2014**	4	44%
2015	8	57%		**2015**	6	43%
2016	7	44%		**2016**	9	56%

Participant destinations by SIMD Categorisation

SIMD 20 (Quintile 1)	
Still on Transitions	12
Transitioned	7
Withdrew	4
Total	23

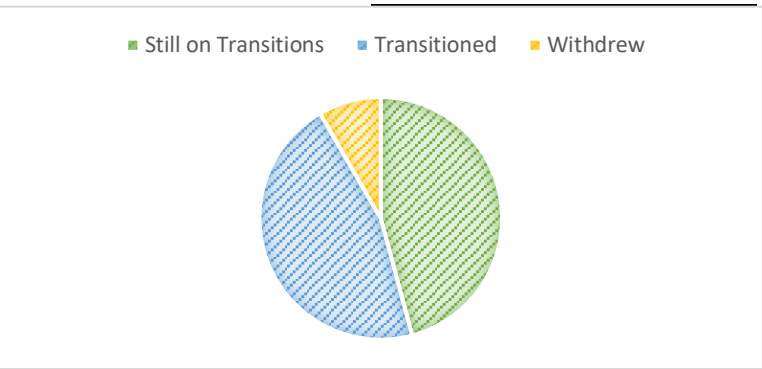


Still on Transitions	
School	6
FE	5
HE	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	1
Unknown	0
Total	**12**

Transitioned	
School	0
FE	1
HE	5
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	1
Working	0
Unknown	1
Total	**8**

Withdrew	
School	3
FE	1
HE	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	0
Unknown	0
Total	**4**

SIMD 40 (Quintile 2)	
Still on Transitions	11
Transitioned	11
Withdrew	2
Total	24



Still on Transitions	
School	10
FE	0
HE	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	1
Unknown	0
Total	**11**

Transitioned	
School	0
FE	3
HE	2
Other Conservatoire	1
RCS	5
Working	0
Unknown	0
Total	**11**

Withdrew	
School	1
FE	0
HE	0
Other Conservatoire	0
RCS	0
Working	0
Unknown	1
Total	**2**

Appendix 9

Proposal to consider extreme rurality in Transitions 20/40 funding criteria.

Proposal for broadening Transitions 20/40 scope to include students from remote areas.

> *The purpose of this paper is to provoke discussion on the possibility of funding three students who have shown musical potential from SIMD 60 datazones that are among the most deprived in Scotland using the access domain in isolation.*

The geographic spread of Transitions 20/40 applicants and students is one of the Key Performance Indicators in the outcome agreement with the Scottish Funding Council. While Transitions 20/40 has been able to recruit drama and production students from Thurso, Wick and Skye, the discipline specific barriers that music students face have contributed to the fact that there were no students further north than Arbroath in the East and Lochgilphead in the west until academic year 2016/17

Using the SIMD as the sole eligibility criteria is problematic because the majority of the SIMD 20/40 datazones are located in more densely populated areas in cities and around the Scotland's central belt. While deprivation and inequality are most pronounced in these areas, research has been shown (Perring, 2013) that the SIMD can be largely ineffective in identifying individual deprivation in particularly remote areas because of the expansive datazones and the unique circumstances surrounding the fragility of infrastructure, social connections and cultural opportunities in remote or sparsely populated areas.

The Conservatoire has successfully used Transitions 20/40 to strengthen relationships with under-represented communities in Scotland, but the multiple barriers that students from more rural or remote local authorities such as Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Orkney and Shetland are not sufficiently identified when using the SIMD in isolation. The focus of this particular proposal is Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, or the Western Isles. This area includes the islands of Lewis, Harris, Benbecula, Barra and North and South Uist and the local authority contends with its own unique issues in providing high quality pre-tertiary tuition to talented young musicians who reside there. Specialist pre-tertiary training is essential for young musicians with potential to excel, given that they must compete for small numbers of undergraduate places with other young people who have not necessarily faced these barriers.

Background

There are five secondary schools on Comhairle nan Eilean Siar;

- Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
- Sir Edward Scott School, Tarbert, Isle of Harris
- Sgoil Lionacleit, Liniclate, Benbecula
- Castlebay Community School, Castlebay, Isle of Barra
- e-Sgoil nan Eilean Siar

E-Sgoil is a gaelic virtual school that delivers lessons and resources online. The introduction of e-Sgoil in the Western Isles has helped to combat the fragility of educational resources, reducing the impact of staff absence and the allocation of resources which can be problematic over large geographic areas and islands. To make this authority-wide delivery of lessons possible, certain subjects are taught at the same time in all schools.

Online, Distance and Blended Learning is also expected to improve the geographic reach of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar is looking at the RCS as a potential arts partner in this kind of delivery. This will most likely involve delivering a pre-tertiary Screen module online that will be piloted through Transitions 20/40. However, the practicalities of delivering low latency music lessons online are still restrictive because of their cost and the quality of connection speed required to perform musically in real time. Ensemble experience and interaction with other musicians is also a vital aspect of musical development, which would not be possible with this method of delivery alone.

A clear indication of the restricted musical opportunities available can be seen in the authority's instrumental service, that creates an egalitarian platform for so many local authorities in Scotland for anybody who wishes to excel at a music instrument through instrumental lessons in schools. The Western Isles only has one brass teacher for the entire authority who teaches all wind instruments, and only one string teacher who is a cellist and is required to teach the whole family of instruments. All other instrumental tutors in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar teach in the traditional style.

What has happened so far?

After regular communication with the RCS in relation to Transitions 20/40 all the principal music teachers in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar were asked to identify young students who have the potential to benefit from the training provided at the Junior Conservatoire of Music. As a result, 12 students sent videos, of which 5 were successful after a further round of Skype auditions.

Eligible students

Two students represented by green markers (fig.1) were eligible for Transitions 20/40 as they resided in the red SIMD 40 datazones.

- One is a Gaelic singer and guitarist who started in September 2016. Transitions 20/40 funds them to come and physically attend the Junior Conservatoire once a month where they participate in group work, musicianship classes and ensembles. The other 3 weekends in the month, they undertake lessons via VScene (similar to Skype).
- The other is an accordion player who has only been able to learn diatonic (button) accordion in the Western Isles, and will be benefiting from keyboard lessons for the first team at the Junior Conservatoire.

Un-eligible students
Three of the students who scored highly in audition are ineligible for Transitions 20/40 funding under the current criteria. These students are represented by the red dots, and all 3 ineligible students are situated on the northwest Lewis around the conurbations of Gress and Vatisker. Although these datazones are around average in terms of employment and housing they are in the bottom 10% in the Access domain making them extremely deprived in this regard.

The three students who are ineligible showed outstanding potential to thrive at the Junior Conservatoire, but it is logistically and financially impossible for them to attend the Junior Conservatoire without additional help.

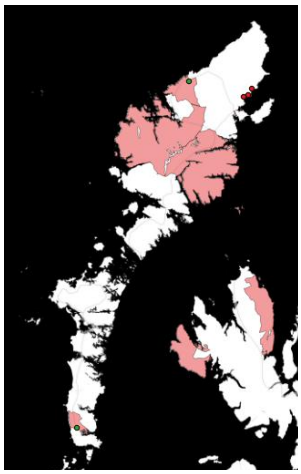
- The first student is a trumpet player who would be getting specialist tuition for the first time, because their local brass teacher is not a trumpet player and teaches the entire brass and wind family.
- The second is a classical singer with no specialist singing teacher or one-to-one lessons.
- The third was a Gaelic singer.

The remarks of the audition panel indicated that if these young people who range from S3 to S6 continued to progress at the rate they had already been working at, they will be ideal for candidates for undergraduate programmes by the time they were applying for courses.

Conclusion- Recommendations.
The purpose of this proposal is to ask if there is anything that can be done to support these 3 talented students from the western isles who have successfully auditioned for the Junior Conservatoire, are unable to support attendance at the RCS through fees and the logistics and limitations of where they live, and are ineligible for Transitions 20/40 funding because they live in SIMD 60 datazones, regardless of the fact that these datazones are among the most access deprived in the country.

It is suggested that:
- Increased prioritisation could be placed on the Access domain when it is at such a pronounced level in each of these 3 cases.
- Account be taken of the potential these 3 students have demonstrated at audition.
- Consideration is given to the future possibilities of building a sizable cohort of Transitions 20/40 students in the area that would justify regular visits from RCS staff to Comhairle nan Eilean Siar to deliver advanced pre-tertiary musical training.

Fig. 1



Appendix 10

Research informing development of regional hubs

Analysis of SIMD 20/40 data to inform the development of regional hubs

"All the people that live in Glasgow, they're like, 'I go to the weekend courses at the Conservatoire every week', and I'm like, 'Yeah I've been to Glasgow about four times in my life'. It's nice to have a chance."
Transitions 20/40 Drama Student (2014)

Accessibility to the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland's tuition and resources is a central objective of Transitions 20/40. The geographic area covered by the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland is the largest of all nine UK conservatoires with a considerable amount of large rural areas and islands. This geographic expansiveness and remoteness can present unique challenges for the Conservatoire and its potential students. In addition to the physical distance, a cultural distance could also be tackled by cultivating a transparency and approachability at the regional level that could further demystify the conservatoire and more effectively create an equality of opportunity for talented pupils.

If the Conservatoire is proactive and informed in taking its resources and expertise to the areas where it could be most impactful, the visibility of Transitions 20/40 would hopefully improve the reach and diversity of its cohort, and provide resources and expertise where none may be readily available. This paper should inform the development of strategically located hubs to open up the wealth of resources and expertise to an even wider group of potentially excluded individuals in SIMD postcode concentrations.

Methodology and structure

The paper uses publicly available SIMD data to highlight particular concentrations of SIMD 20/40 data zones to show which regions have the characteristics of eligibility Transitions 20/40 requires.[37] The next phase is to identify local deficits in informal and formal provision in these SIMD concentrated areas, specifically investigating which secondary schools, FE institutions and private / community providers are offering Dance, Drama and Music on the SQA syllabus. The final step is to relate this to the current geographic spread of applications and cohort and ask if the hubs should be where the current students are, or where they are noticeably absent.

Part 1. SIMD Priority Areas.

In accordance with the Scottish Funding Council's agreement with the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, SIMD 20/40 status is the sole eligibility criteria for Transitions 20/40. It is logical to focus strategic placement of regional hubs in areas where there are concentrations of SIMD 20/40 postcodes.

[37] . This paper recognizes that the SIMD is not an absolute measure of deprivation or social exclusion, so it specifically refers to 'SIMD recognized Deprivation'.

The Scottish Government most commonly groups SIMD statistical information into the bottom quintile (20%) and the bottom three vigintiles (15%). This gives a reasonable indication as to which local authorities have the highest concentrations of SIMD 20 and 15 postcodes and datazones. While this is acceptable as a proxy and indicative of SIMD trends of deprivation, further work was conducted for this report to ensure the information was directly relatable to Transitions 20/40's specific 40% cut off for eligibility. It was helpful to create a map specifically of SIMD 20/40 datazones, to display the geographic concentrations of SIMD 20 and 40 datazones so locations for the hubs can be in optimal locations to serve those who are eligible for the funding. To the author's knowledge, this had not been done before. While the exercise was demanding on time, it should prove useful for future analysis.

National spread of SIMD

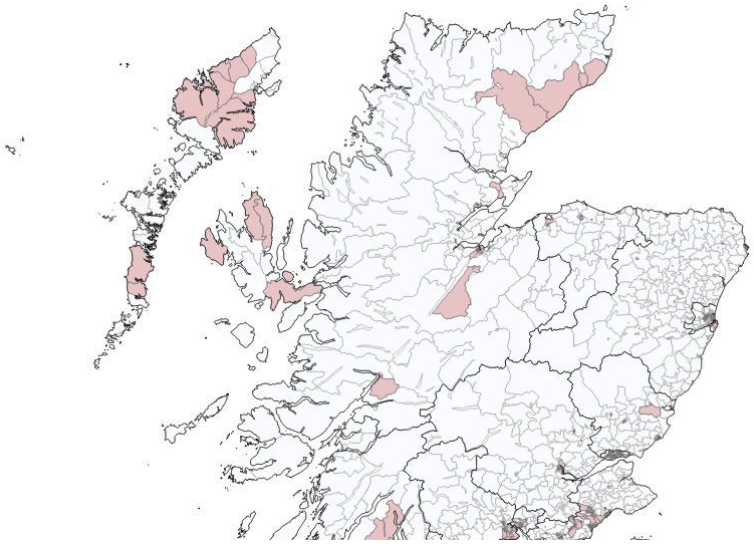


Fig 1.

Fig.2

Fig.1 shows SIMD 20/40 datazones in the north of Scotland and Fig. 2 the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland. It is important at this stage to highlight that datazones are roughly consistent with population size, usually between 500 and 1000 residents, so visual representations of sparsely populated rural datazones appear much larger than densely populated datazones in urban areas. The more densely populated urban datazones are far smaller in geographic area, meaning that the Highlands of Scotland have more expansive but sparsely populated datazones. However even accounting for this visual distortion Fig. 1 & 2 still highlight how relatively few SIMD 20/40 datazones exist in the Highlands and Islands in contrast to Fig. 3 which shows the central belt and lowlands.

Comparing the number of datazones with the relative populations confirms this visual analysis. Highland Council has 1.9% of Scotland's SIMD 20 datazones compared to Glasgow City Council's 26.2%. SIMD recognized deprivation in the Highlands is therefore relatively low when considering that it has 4.4% of the Scottish population. (General Register Office for Scotland, 2014). Conversely Glasgow City Council is home to 11.2% of the Scottish population, meaning that SIMD recognized deprivation is relatively high. (General Register Office for Scotland, 2014).

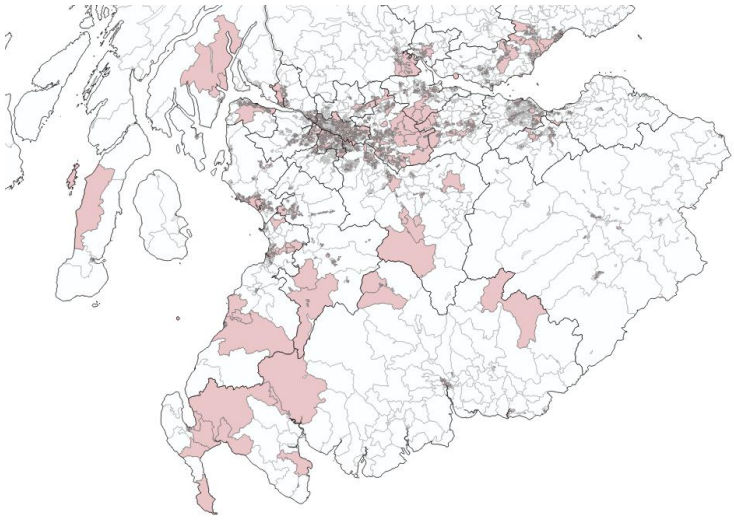
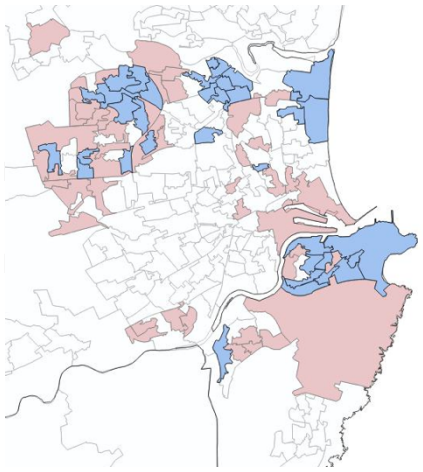


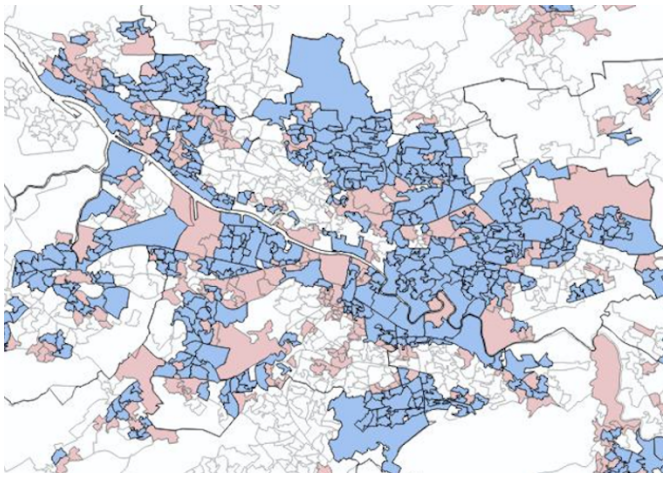
Fig 3.
SIMD in urban areas.

Below are representations of SIMD 20/40 datazones in Scotland's largest urban areas that aren't distinguishable on the larger maps. The blue areas indicate SIMD 20 datazones, the red areas indicate SIMD 40 datazones. All highlighted areas are eligible datazones for Transitions 20/40.

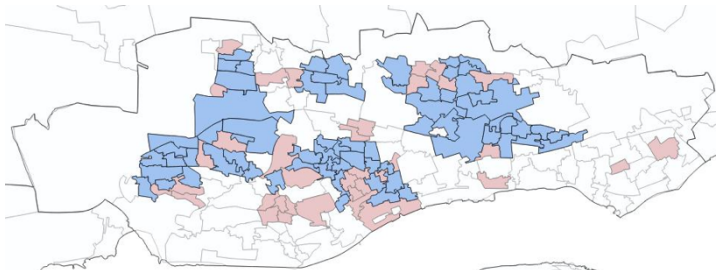
Aberdeen



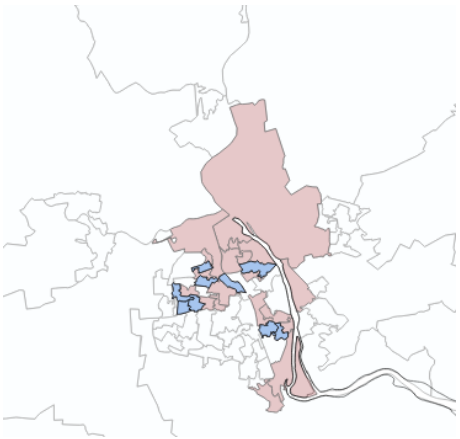
Glasgow



Dundee



Perth



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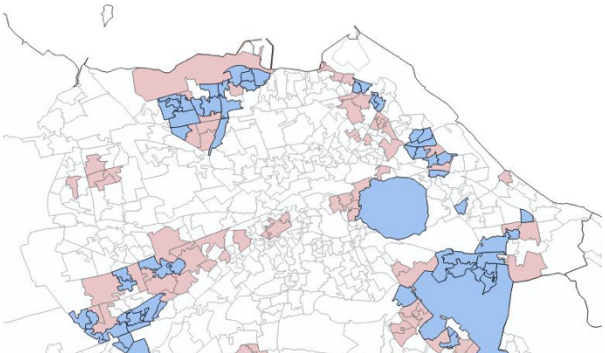
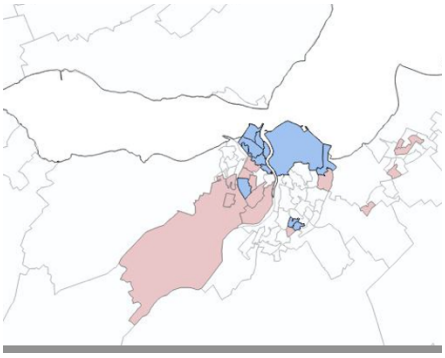
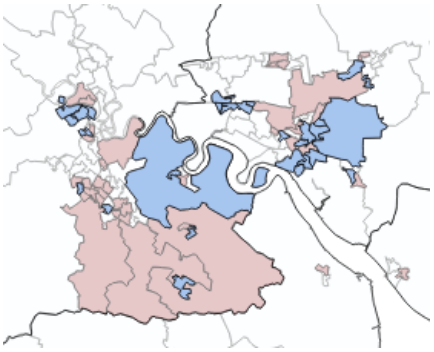


Inverness



Stirling



From these visual representations it is clear that Glasgow has the largest number of SIMD 20/40 datazones, the largest population and therefore the largest amount of potential Transitions 20/40 students. However, there are substantial concentrations of other SIMD 20/40 datazones in other less central urban areas such as Dundee, certainly enough to justify regional hubs in these locations.

SIMD in rural areas

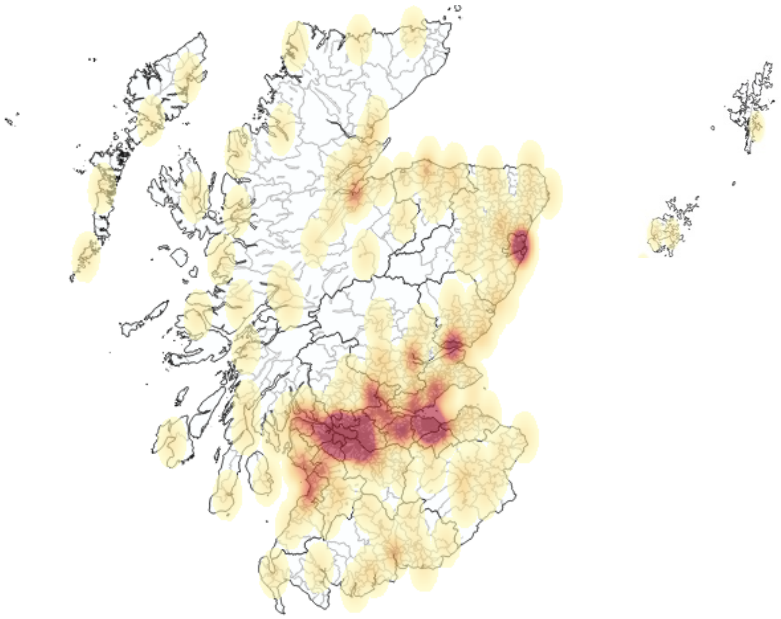
Identifying areas suitable for regional hubs in more rural areas is problematic in comparison to SIMD identified deprivation in urban conurbations. Populations are spread more thinly which means the SIMD is actually less effective in measuring deprivation in these areas. Individual deprivation is more common in these areas, with isolation, lack of motivation and loneliness being the most pertinent considerations that cause exclusion but cannot be represented in the SIMD (Perring, E. 2006, p4). This is clearly an area for future research, and has already become a focus of the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics department for the next review of the SIMD. (McAlpine, A. 2013).

Part 2. Existing Provision

This section will provide a very brief summary of what formal provision is available locally in the 2013/14 art forms of music, drama, and dance.

Music

Music is very well represented throughout Scotland with 375 SQA centres presenting candidates for higher music exams in 2014. (SQA 2014)



This heatmap shows that all major urban conurbations have deep red concentrations of SQA presentations for music and all local authorities in Scotland have music provision in schools. Therefore a more accurate indicator with more geographic variation could be local provision of specialist instrumental tuition. This indicator shows greater variance due to the inconsistency of instrumental tuition between local authorities as it is a discretionary service determined at a local government level. It can also be argued that this is a more pertinent consideration for students who are consciously choosing music as a specialism and receiving more advanced instrumental training out-with comprehensive classroom provision. Unlike many other subjects, obtaining a higher or advanced higher music does not sufficiently prepare a student for entry to undergraduate level education. This skills gap is symptomatic of the relatively low levels of instrumental proficiency required at Higher[38]and even Advanced Higher.[39] It is generally accepted that Grade 8 standard in at least one instrument is required for entry into most undergraduate music programmes, and if this is not formally required, entry to programmes can be so competitive that this would still be the standard advised to compete with other applicants.

Instrumental Tuition

Each local authority has their own priorities towards what they need from their instrumental service, the budget and demand for such a service, and what their instrumental service requires from them. The results of a survey of all 32 local authorities conducted in May 2013 revealed the following key points about instrumental tuition in Scotland.

- *"24 out of the 32 Local Authorities charge for instrumental tuition."* (The Improvement Service, 2013, p7)
- Fees range from £44.40 per pupil, per year for group lessons in Falkirk, to £340 per pupil, per year, for one-to-one tuition in Aberdeen City. *(Ibid.)*

Deeper analysis of the report helps provide a detailed but complex view of local variance in instrumental music services. For example, some local authorities do not include instrument hire in their fees, while other local authorities include not only instrument hire, but local authority ensembles, orchestras and other extra-curricular music activities including access to music centres and local hubs. It is also worth noting that 19 of the 24 charging authorities offer *"complete exemption from charges for pupils from low income families" (ibid.* p9) with others offering considerable discounts without offering complete exemption from charges. Analysis of pupil uptake failed to show any correlation between charging local authorities and

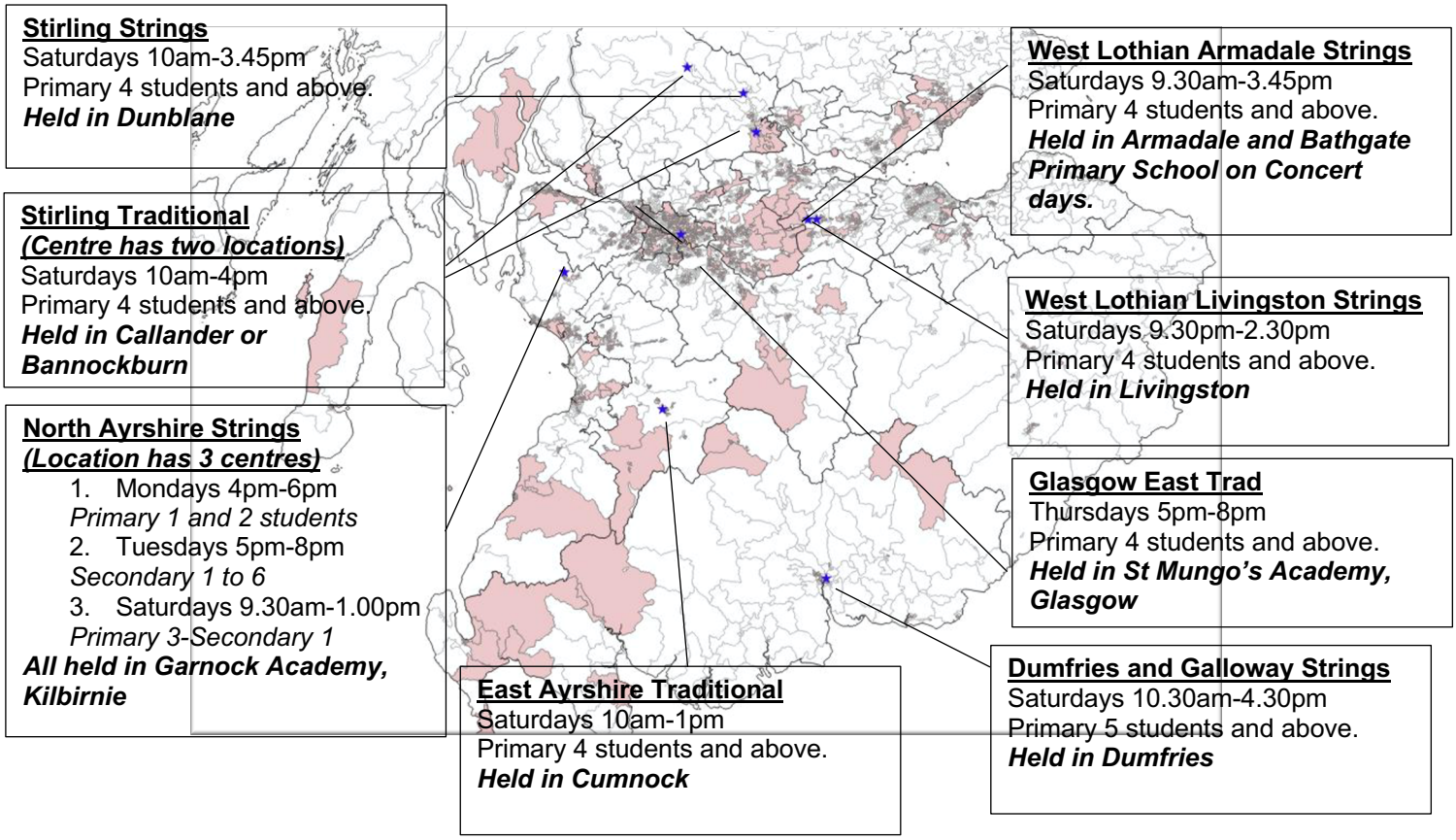
[38] Grade 4 (McDonald, M. 2014, p.3)
[39] Grade 5 (McDonald, M. 2014, p.3)

the percentage of pupils engaging in instrumental tuition *(ibid.* p16), and the percentage of local authority budget set aside for instrumental music services was not necessarily less for charging local authorities, as *"many charging Local Authorities also put a relatively high proportion of their education budget towards the service." (ibid.* p17). Based on the results of this survey the Instrumental Music Group published a report in June 2013 that outlined the next steps by offering seventeen recommendations for improving the Instrumental Music Service in Scotland. The author of this paper attended a briefing on this report at the 2014 Scottish Learning Festival on the 25th of September 2014 and found most of the seventeen recommendations to be complimentary to the regional development of Transitions 20/40, as strategic regional hubs could align with and compliment the progressive and joined up national approach that is hopefully to be adopted by instrumental tuition services in Scotland. Ultimately, the report recommended a *"National Vision Statement"* (Instrumental Music Group. 2014, p18) in regards to instrumental tuition which includes more partnership and collaboration with informal provision[40], improved distance learning[41], continued professional development for tutors [42], and most pertinently, increased consistency of opportunity across the country and across socio-economic circumstances.[43]

These are encouraging foundations for possible regional development by the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, but the RCS already facilitates some music centres in collaboration with local authorities that should also be used to inform the placement of new regional hubs established as part of Transitions 20/40.

Musicworks

The Conservatoire engages in junior level outreach through the Musicworks programme. The Conservatoire website states that there are 12 locations with a reach of over 800 students. The map below shows the location of these centres and their proximity to SIMD 20/40 datazones.



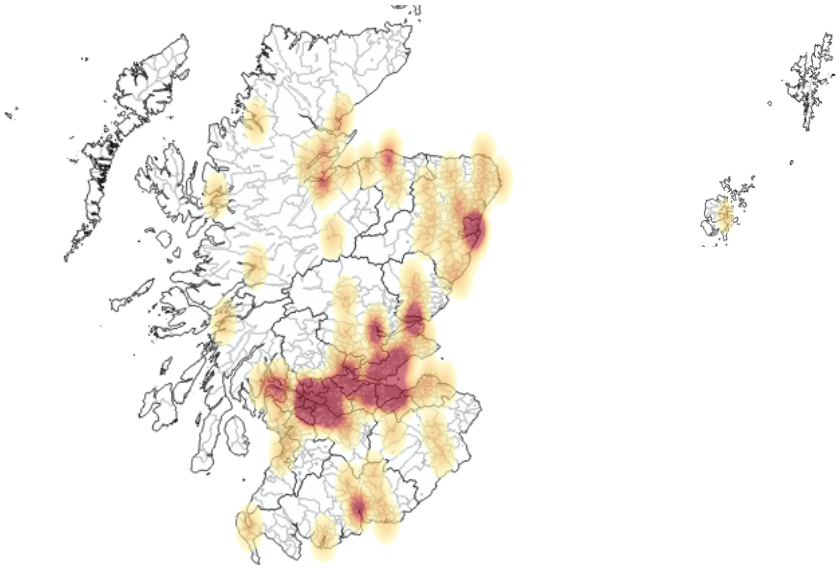
[40] Recommendations 6 & 9 ((Instrumental Music Group. 2014, p28-31)
[41] Recommendation 11. (Instrumental Music Group. 2014, p28-31)
[42] Recommendation 12. (Instrumental Music Group. 2014, p28-31)
[43] Recommendations 3, 8 & 11. (Instrumental Music Group. 2014, p28-31)

All of these are already based in or around relatively high concentrations of SIMD 20/40 datazones, with the exception of the centres in Callander and Dunblane, and all apart from North Ayrshire Strings are free of charge. The centres are all in the southern and central areas which does indicate that there would a deficit further north. All of these centres' demographics are defined by the local authorities, and are for pupils of specific schools in the case of West Lothian. Musicworks is an important initiative, but is by no means exhaustive, leaving sufficient room for potential Transitions 20/40 regional hubs to work in parallel.

Overall, it has been said that Scotland performs very well in music using undergraduate applications to UK Conservatoires as a benchmark, with Scottish domiciled students making up over 37% of CUKAS applicants in 2013 (CUKAS 2013, p15).[44] This is a trend that has continued from the older 2011 report that the Instrumental Music Group report triumphantly cited (Instrumental Music Group. 2013 p. 10). However, a detail missed is that a large number of these applications were for drama.[45]

Drama

Drama is not as comprehensively well represented throughout Scotland as music, with 211 SQA centres presenting candidates for higher drama exams in 2014 (SQA 2014).



The heatmap again shows red concentrations of SQA presentations for drama around urban areas, but has less yellow coverage further away from the central belt. Thirty of the thirty-two local authorities in Scotland have presented candidates for Higher drama (ibid.). The two authorities without higher drama candidates in 2014 were Shetland and Eilean Siar. Historically, drama provision has been inconsistent in Scottish schools with a trend of assimilation within other departments (ie. English) and a lack of specialist drama teachers with recognized qualifications (Broad, S. and Duffy, C. 2005). This lack of specialism was often countered using professional companies to enhance drama provision, but this was found to be financially exclusionary (ibid.). Even so, professional interaction and partnerships for drama provision were seen to be beneficial but almost exclusive to the central belt, with the exception of Eden Court in Inverness. As with instrumental tuition, drama provision varied greatly within local authorities. The most thinly spread local authorities had as little as one FTE drama teacher for over 3009 pupils, while the most generously endowed authorities had one FTE drama teacher for under 953 students (Ibid.). Overall, the 2005 report painted a bleak picture. Barlow (2013) updated this by saying drama was now growing in schools, but avoided direct contradiction of the 2005 report by focusing mainly on drama as a complimentary piece of the curriculum and played down the artistic worth of drama works in their own right. However, there are still schools in Scotland with no drama provision at all, and

[44] There were 1041 Scottish applications out of a total UK of 3728.
[45] 1791 UK undergraduate drama performance applications in 2013 (CUKAS, 2013 p22)

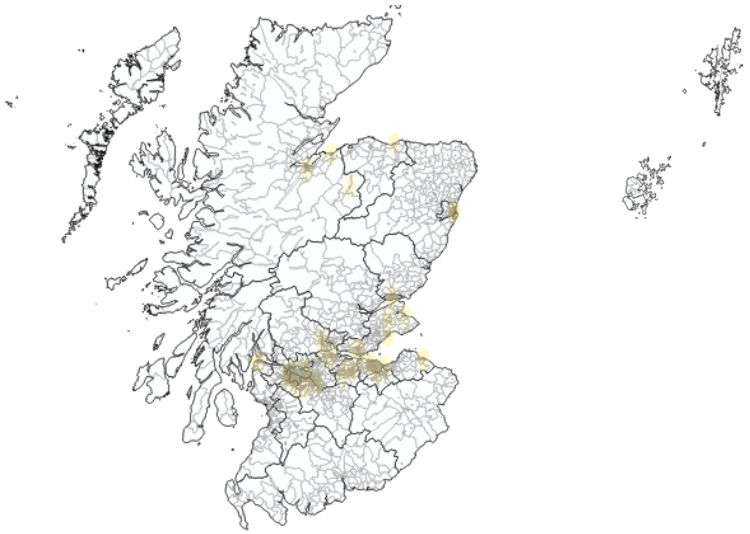
certainly no nationwide specialist training available on the scale of the Instrumental Music Service that can enhance the comprehensive education available in the classroom and raise drama to a level suited to undergraduate application. Early findings of the PhD research have anecdotally revealed the reliance on local amateur dramatic groups and community centres to practice drama and a dissatisfaction with the opportunities available through these.

> *"Being far away isn't helpful, and the fact there aren't many drama related things [where I'm from] at all. There's like drama in school and things like that, but they do the pantomime once a year, and apart from that there's very little, so It's hard to kind of get your foot in the door when you're only doing something once a year. I do try and do as much as I can, and I do try and get away to do courses and stuff, but it isn't easy at all, and that's why Transitions was really handy*."
> **Transitions 20/40 Drama Student (2014)**

It would be beneficial to map out formal and informal provision of drama in the private and voluntary sector on a national level, but unrealistic to achieve on the timescale of this report. For now, the tentative conclusions can be drawn that drama provision is lacking in more rural areas and is still biased towards the central belt.

Dance

The introduction of the Curriculum for Excellence has had a positive effect on dance education in Scotland, due to the establishment of Dance as a subject alongside other expressive arts, offering certification at Higher and National 5 levels (Clark, A. 2012). However, dance is still not well represented in Scottish education considering how popular an activity research has found it to be in Scotland. There were 44 SQA centres in the whole of Scotland presenting candidates for higher dance exams in 2014 (SQA 2014).



This heatmap shows no red concentrations of SQA centres presenting higher dance candidates in 2014, with only eighteen of the thirty-two local authorities in Scotland presenting candidates for higher dance (ibid.). Edinburgh City, Aberdeen City and West Lothian have proportionally strong representation of Higher dance, with Glasgow performing poorly considering its population size.

Local authority areas with no higher dance candidates in 2014 were-

- Aberdeenshire Council
- Dumfries & Galloway Council
- Perth & Kinross Council
- North Ayrshire Council
- East Ayrshire Council
- Scottish Borders
- South Ayrshire Council

- Angus Council
- West Dunbartonshire
- Argyll & Bute Council
- Clackmannanshire Council
- EIlean Siar
- Orkney Islands
- Shetland Islands

The lack of a specific PGDE in dance creates a void of specialist dance teachers because it is not possible to become a registered GTCS dance specialist (Clark, A. 2012. p17). Access to the facilities required to prepare for a professional level of dance is much more sporadic and these facilities vary greatly in quality. It could be here that Transitions 20/40 could have the greatest impact, as it is in this art-form that the biggest deficit exists between what is available consistently and what is required to study and forge a career in dance. Recent sector reviews and other initiatives have made progressive steps towards improving access to dance in Scotland.

The dance sector beyond school.

There are now far more purpose-built dance facilities in Scotland where the Conservatoire should investigate partnership to compliment existing provision, and use the SFC funding for Transitions 20/40 to offer these facilities to students from SIMD 20/40 postcodes. These purpose-built centres are (Clark, A. 2012):

- Dance Base, Edinburgh (National Centre for Dance)
- The Space, Dundee (Scottish School for Contemporary Dance)
- Dundee Rep Theatre (Scottish Dance Theatre)
- Eden Court, Inverness.
- His Majesty's Theatre, Aberdeen
- MacRobert Arts, Stirling
- Platform, Easterhouse
- Howden Park, Livingston
- Woodend Barn Banchory

Also, Scottish Ballet recently published information regarding their steps at improving geographic access to quality dance tuition. They engaged in high quality participatory work through its "Find Your Feet" project (Scottish Ballet, 2013 p.20). This was based in seven specific communities spread over five local authorities.

- Perth & Kinross
- Dumfries & Galloway
- Inverclyde
- Highlands
- Argyll & Bute

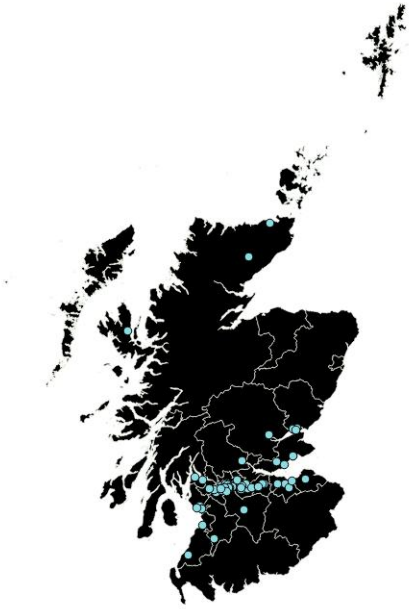
Taking this activity into account still leaves Aberdeenshire, Angus, North, South and East Ayrshire, Orkney, Shetland and Eilean Siar unrepresented in dance education. However, with the exception of North, South and East Ayrshire, these local authorities are not recognized by the SIMD as being particularly deprived, so will have relatively few potentially eligible students.

Part 3. Current geographic spread

This section is taken from previous research of the author's in mapping out the existing geographic spread of Transitions 20/40.

Applicants

In 2013/14 Transitions 20/40 received 88 applications to meet its recruitment target of 48 students.



- 19 (59%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities were represented in the applications for Transitions 20/40 in the academic year 2013/14.
- 13 (41%) Local Authorities were not represented in applications for Transitions 20/40 in the academic year 2013/14.

These were:

- Aberdeenshire Council (6th Least SIMD 20) 5DZs (0.4% National Share)
- Aberdeen City Council (21st Least SIMD 20) 35 DZs (2.7% National Share)
- Falkirk Council (19th Least SIMD 20) 29 DZs (2.2% National Share)
- Dumfries & Galloway Council (15th Least SIMD 20) 16DZs (1.2% National Share)
- Scottish Borders (8th Least SIMD 20) 7 DZs (0.5% National Share)
- Angus Council (Joint 10th Least SIMD 20) 9 DZ (0.7% National Share)
- West Dunbartonshire Council (22nd Least SIMD 20) 41DZs (3.2% National Share)
- Argyle & Bute Council (12th Least SIMD 20) 11DZs (0.8% National Share)
- Moray Council (4th Least SIMD 20) 2 DZs (0.2% National Share)
- Clackmannanshire Council (16th Least SIMD 20) 18DZs (1.4% National Share)
- Na h-Eileanan Siar (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Shetland Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Orkney Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)

Cohort

In 2013/14 Transitions 20/40 had 40 successful applicants that made up the first cohort.

- 16 (50%) of Scotland's 32 Local Authorities were represented in the first Transitions 20/40 cohort in the academic year 2013/14.
- 16 (50%) Local Authorities were not represented in the cohort.

These were:

- Aberdeenshire Council (6th Least SIMD 20) 5DZs (0.4% National Share)
- Aberdeen City Council (21st Least SIMD 20) 35 DZs (2.7% National Share)
- West Lothian Council (20th Least SIMD 20) 34DZs (2.6% National Share)
- Renfrewshire Council (25th Least SIMD 20) 60 DZs (4.6% National Share)
- Falkirk Council (19th Least SIMD 20) 29 DZs (2.2% National Share)
- Dumfries & Galloway Council (15th Least SIMD 20) 16DZs (1.2% National Share)
- East Ayrshire (23rd Least SIMD 20) 48 DZs (3.7% National Share)
- Scottish Borders (8th Least SIMD 20) 7 DZs (0.5% National Share)
- Angus Council (Joint 10th Least SIMD 20) 9 DZ (0.7% National Share)
- West Dunbartonshire Council (22nd Least SIMD 20) 41DZs (3.2% National Share)
- Argyle & Bute Council (12th Least SIMD 20) 11DZs (0.8% National Share)
- Moray Council (4th Least SIMD 20) 2 DZs (0.2% National Share)
- Clackmannanshire Council (16th Least SIMD 20) 18DZs (1.4% National Share)
- Na h-Eileanan Siar (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Shetland Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)
- Orkney Islands (Joint 1st Least SIMD 20) 0 DZs (0.0% National Share)

Conclusion

It should be considered whether outreach centres should be where Transitions 20/40 already has students, or of the centres should exist where there are none. Pragmatically a balance can be reached, as the SIMD dictates where eligible students reside, and it would be logical to locate outreach hubs where the greatest numbers of eligible students would be. However, areas like Aberdeen City and Inverness have no Transitions 20/40 applicants or students, despite their relatively high chance of potential SIMD eligibility. It would be unhelpful to establish a hub where there is no demand.

Any hub would also need to be a significant distance from the Royal Conservatoire's Glasgow campus to make a positive difference for those attending the hub in substitution for attending the main campus. Therefore, the creation of hubs in Dundee and Fife could be a good starting point for regional development. As well as the SIMD 20/40 concentrations in Dundee shown above, there is significant SIMD 20/40 representation in Fife (Fig 5.). There is potential for partnerships with FE institutions, facilities in Dundee for professional dance training, and a high percentages of Transitions 20/40 applicants and students from these areas which make them attractive and potentially worthwhile areas because of the existing demand. There is no Musicworks presence in either Dundee or Fife, and the potential for limiting journey times from other areas of Scotland could also be beneficial. For example, students from Angus, Aberdeenshire, Aberdeen City, Perth & Kinross would enjoy significantly reduced journey times if they were to attend a hub in Dundee. Similarly, a hub in Fife would serve the same purpose for Edinburgh City, Midlothian, East Lothian, West Lothian, Stirling, Falkirk and Clackmannanshire. If all the local authorities mentioned are reached by the hubs, a further 28% of Scotland's SIMD 20 data zones would be reached in additions to the 47% in close proximity to the RCS.

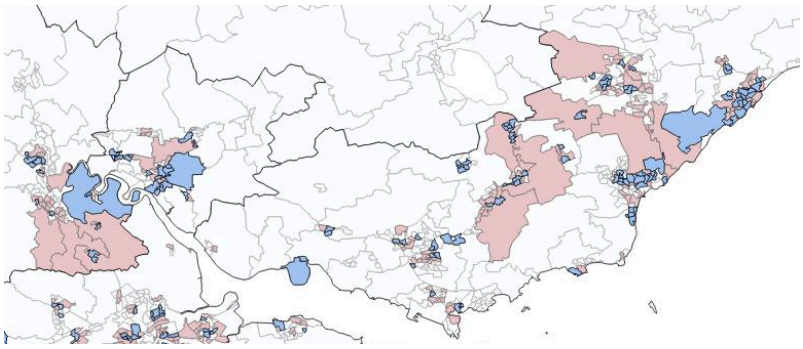


Fig 5.

This is a piece of work that should be ongoing, and will be further informed by information regarding applications and cohort for 2014/15 and beyond.

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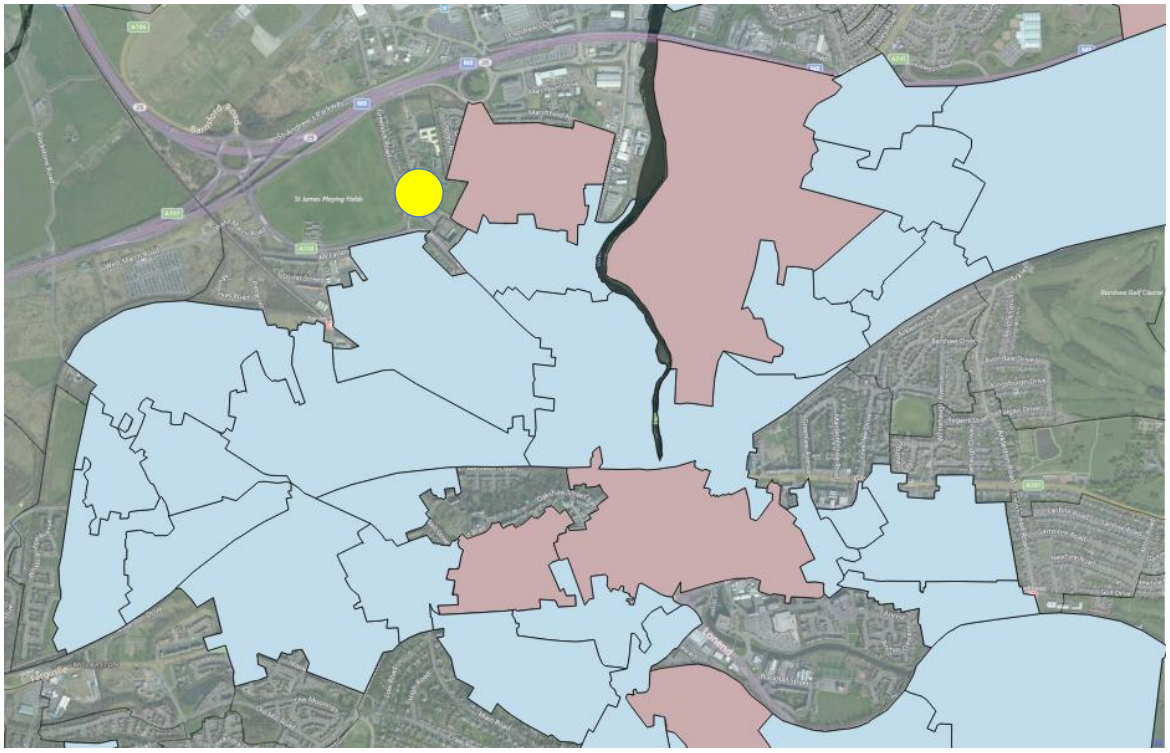
Appendix 11

Mapping exercise to illustrate proximity of residential care facilities to SIMD 20/40 datazones

This simple exercise was undertaken to propose to the SFC that the Kibble Education and Care Centre in Paisley should be eligible for Transitions 20/40 funding, given its close proximity to SIMD 20/40 datazones, and its student population of at-risk young people aged between 5-26. This proposal was successful, and Transitions now considers care experience as a criteria for eligibility in its own right.

Location of the Kibble Education and Care Centre in relation to local SIMD 20/40 datazones.



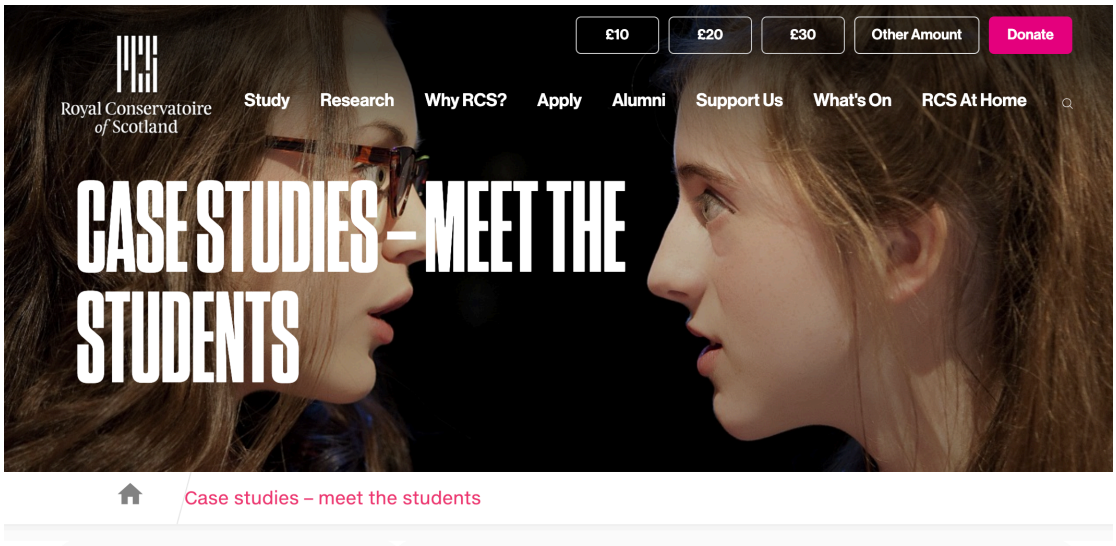
SIMD 20 Datazones SIMD 40 Datazones Kibble Education and Care Centre

Appendix 12

Public facing case studies

Some public facing case study research was conducted during Transitions 20/40. These case studies were commissioned by the Transitions 20/40 team for marketing and recruitment purposes. These interviews were conducted separately from the doctoral research, with participants consenting to be identified, and with recruitment being purposeful rather than random. Six interviews were conducted between the 1st April and 31 May 2016 and case studies were delivered by the 15 June 2016. These case studies were presented to the SFC and also used on the RCS/Transitions 20/40 website.

Two of these cases were still on the RCS website at the time of submission: www.rcs.ac.uk/fair_access/transitions/case-studies/



The consent form and participant information sheet for this project are included in the following pages.

Consent form and participant information

Transitions 20/40- Case Study Cover Letter.

Dear Respondent,

You have been invited to be a case study of Transitions 20/40, the programme you are currently involved in at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland.

You have been identified by the Widening Access and Participation Manager and approached by e-mail or telephone. If you are willing to take part, full written consent will be obtained for you to be identified as a case study and for your name and image to be used in future reporting, marketing and recruitment for Transitions 20/40 and the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland more broadly. These case studies may be used in the public domain.

The interview will be recorded using an audio recorder for documentation purposes. Using the interview recordings an accurate and truthful narrative will be developed that will provide the reader with an idea of your background circumstances, the barriers you have faced towards accessing education and the performing arts, and your experiences at the RCS as part of Transitions 20/40.

The interview should not last more than an hour, and will explore the following areas:

- Your social background- where you are from
- Your educational experiences outwith the RCS
- Your motivations for applying to Transitions 20/40
- Your experiences of the RCS
- Your creative life
- Your hopes for life after Transitions 20/40

Your course work or any future applications to study at RCS will not be affected by your decision to participate in these interviews.

Your interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. The reason for this is to ensure that your answers to the interview questions can be referred to after the interview.

If you agree to be interviewed and for your views to be used, I ask you to complete a consent form on the next page prior to the interview taking place. This protects your rights and enables me to utilise your interview in the construction of the case study.

Should you have any questions about any of this I am happy to answer any queries.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

Graeme John Smillie
E-mail: g.smillie@rcs.ac.uk

CONSENT TO THE USE OF DATA

I understand that Graeme John Smillie is collecting data in the form of digitally recorded interviews for use in a case study research project for the Widening Access and Participation team at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

I give my consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

- I have read and understood the cover letter, have had the opportunity to ask any questions and have had these satisfactorily answered.
- My information will be kept in safe and secure storage at all times
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online, and I may be identified in this.
- I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time before any publication of results of the study is made.

Signed by the contributor:_____ date:

Signed by the researcher:_____ date:

Researcher's name:
Graeme John Smillie

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Appendix 13

Research on no-shows to audition

This strand of research arose from discussions in the Transitions 20/40 Programme and Operations Team Meeting, to improve understanding of non-attendance at interviews and auditions. Response rate was predictably low, but did offer some insight into arbitrary exclusion.

Audition Non-Attendance Summary Report

Small research project conducted for the Transitions 20/40 POTM

24th March 2016

[Transitions 20/40m Team Member] shared the contact details of 38 applicants for Transitions 20/40 who did not attend their audition. These applicants had already been contacted by [Transitions 20/40 Team Member] and 8 had given the following reason for their non-attendance:

- 1 lived in Orkney
- 1 had a family bereavement
- 1 was ill
- 3 had already rescheduled their audition to a future date

- 1 e-mail address did not work and the e-mail bounced back
- 1 had auditioned for another course at the RCS

The remaining 30 applicants were contacted in two waves and were invited to participate in either a telephone or e-mail interview. This process was granted ethical approval by the Research Degrees Committee.

- 3 further e-mail addresses from the 30 bounced back.

- 8 responses were received from the 27 possible participants, excluding those who had invalid e-mail addresses and those who had previously given a reason.

Non-interviewed responses

5 of the 8 respondents replied to the e-mail stating a reason for non-attendance without participating in the full interview:

- 1 participant said a family member had turned ill and their non-attendance was nothing to do with the RCS.
- 1 participant worked on a Saturday, which meant they were unable to attend because all the auditions were on Saturdays.
- 1 participant misunderstood the e-mail and offered to send a monologue or a video of them dancing.
- 2 participants fully agreed to participate in e-mail interviews, but have yet to respond following repeated reminders.

Interviewed responses

3 Participants participated fully through interview, either over the phone or by e-mail. The full transcripts are included here.

- Participant NS1 said they were ill-prepared for the audition during their interview. After the audio recording had been stopped they called back to say they were put off the RCS by a member of a panel at a previous audition.
- Participant NS2 believed they would not have enjoyed studying at the RCS using prior experiences of the institution as a reference.
- Participant NS3 became pregnant a few weeks before the audition and had decided Transitions 20/40 was no longer a priority because they would not be able to take full advantage even if they were successful in audition.

Participant NS1

1 **How did you hear about Transitions 20/40?**

NS1: Well, I auditioned the year before last year, and I'm trying to think… Maybe I'm a member of the Conservatoire's Facebook page and they posted up a video about it and I watched it and it sounded really interesting.

2 **Why did you apply for the course?**

NS1: Basically, I was at a bit of a crossroads at the time with what I was doing. I had just finished an HND in Music and I had started to digress towards Musical Theatre. I thought it was an opportunity to get some extra training then use what I've got to apply for uni. I was trying to change direction and do musical theatre at the time and it just seemed like it would be an interesting avenue to try and see if I can get some extra help out of applying, like free mentoring or extra tuition. It just sounded really interesting because it was somewhere I wanted to go to from when I was really young and it was an opportunity to learn some things from the conservatoire.

GJS: So you were a musician originally?

NS1: Yeah, but I did contemporary music though.

GJS: So what kind of stuff did you do musically?

NS1: I went to […] College and I did the Rock, Pop and Performance course. There was a bit of music business and a bit of everything. I did a bit of jazz and I was allowed to dabble in musical theatre but I did a bit of everything.

3 **Had you been to the RCS before?**

Yeah, I had been to a couple of open days. I went in high school when I was doing Advanced Higher drama with my teacher to an open day thing. I had been there for other things; I think I saw the Junior Orchestra sort of thing, but I think that was it. I had been a couple of times before and I was very familiar with the building anyway. It wasn't my first time.

4 **If so, what were your initial impressions of the RCS?**

I was over the moon with excitement. At the time I was quite young and I knew [a famous Scottish actor] had went there and I was a massive […] fan at the time and I knew that [another actor] had been in just the week before like doing a mentoring session and I just thought it was really exciting to be in the same building that other people I looked up to had been to. I just thought it was such a cool place.

5 **If not, did you have a picture in your head of what the RCS would be like?**

Well, my drama teacher went there, so he filled our heads with what he got up to and we saw photographs of him in costume outside

classrooms waiting to go in. You always have an image of what a university would be like. But yeah, it was pretty cool.

6 **What did you think of the application process?**

It was fine. My computer didn't really agree with the way you need to fill it in. I don't know if it's still like that. I remember this vividly- I copied and pasted all my answers into a document because it kept failing, but that might have just been my laptop. But the process was fine, I just pasted my answers in again. Other than that, the questions were fine. I'm a bit older than the other people who applied so I've done quite a lot of application forms for courses and things like that.

7 **Did you feel supported by the RCS in your application to T20/40?**

Actually yeah, because I e-mailed asking if they got it because I knew it wasn't working, so I wanted to check it had been sent through and I got an e-mail pretty quickly. The only thing was, the second time they couldn't find my postcode to see if it was in the catchment area because it was a new area. I knew the postcode was right, but the problem was that they couldn't find it. They accepted it but they said they were going to have to check the postcode before deciding and that took a while. It wasn't the end of the world but at the time I was in a new house and I was struggling to get a lot of things dealt with because it wasn't coming up on people's systems because it was a new place. That was the only issue. Yeah, it worked out alright in the end.

8 **Did you feel supported by your school, teachers friends and family?**

I don't think so, no. I remember just staying up late and doing it on my own because like I said I was a wee bit older and I had done this sort of thing before. I think I phoned my old drama teacher but he had never heard of it so he just said good luck.

9 **Was your audition at the RCS in Glasgow or at an external hub?**

It was in a little classroom actually in the place.

10 **When did you decide not to attend? (If it was a conscious decision)**

I'm trying to remember how it panned out. Around that time last year I had been going to get classes at a place […] to work on my acting chops, because that was my feedback, that I had potential and I had a good voice, I just didn't have enough acting ability, so I thought I would go and do that. It ended up being that I really enjoyed going, and the class took up a lot of my time, it was quite intensive. A lot of stuff to learn, and a lot of lines, it was pretty serious for a night-time course and basically time got away from me, I had throat problems at the start of the year and problems with my health, and I just thought I'd ask for it to be extended to a later time, and they were quite happy to do that. They said 'Oh we still want you to attend, please make sure you come' and that was fine, but I still wasn't feeling right, I knew I wasn't ready and I didn't want to go in not feeling ready and make an absolute fool of myself, so I e-mailed them again a week before it and just said that this isn't going to happen. I'm really sorry and she tried again, she asked if there was another date, and I just said I wasn't ready this year.

11 **What was the biggest reason not to attend the audition?**

It was really being ill prepared. I had really let my singing go by the wayside when acting became a priority (acting on feedback from my first audition) and I didn't want to make a fool of myself by being ill prepared.

12 **Do you think you might apply to study at the RCS again at some point in the future?**

I don't think it would suit me now. I mean it would be nice to do some form of class with yourselves, but unfortunately with time, I think it would better benefit somebody a bit younger. The way it's formatted it is suited to somebody a wee bit younger. Because now my experience is all over the place and I have got people who could mentor me in the way that I need at this stage in my life. I would never turn down a place, like if they turned round tomorrow and said we want to be your mentors for the next six months I would never say no, but I think at this stage, with the kind of experience I have I would feel a bit out of place. I would feel even older now, and I did feel old at the audition because there were quite a lot of children. Well, I would call them children in comparison to myself.

GJS: So did you feel out of place at the audition?

NS1: Yeah. Apparently I wasn't the oldest. They said they had one other person, but I was definitely the oldest in the room. And they were very sweet, but I don't think, I didn't get in and I wasn't too heartbroken, but I got good feedback and I was happy with that to be honest.

N.B After the phone call ended, the NS1 called back to say that they were put-off by a member of their audition panel from their first audition at the RCS. They saw them mouthing 'Really?' to another member of the panel when they said they had chosen a song because of an emotional connection with it. NS1 gave oral consent for this to be reported.

Participant NS2

1 **How did you hear about Transitions 20/40?**

My school recommended me to the RCS and helped me apply for the Transitions 20/40

2 **Why did you apply for the course?**

I applied for the course as I wish to study acting and performance for further education and thought it would be helpful.

3 **Had you been to the RCS before?**

I have been a few times for different things one being the Focus West audition preparation

4 **If so, what were your initial impressions of the RCS?**

I didn't really enjoy it, I felt like some of the people taking the classes were quite rude and off putting and I just didn't really fit in. I know a lot of other people taking the classes felt the same.

5 **If not, did you have a picture in your head of what the RCS would be like?**

n/a

6 **What did you think of the application process?**

I applied a while ago and can't really remember I think there was a few troubles in my class with people's addresses however.

7 **Did you feel supported by the RCS in your application to T20/40?**

Not particularly.

8 **Did you feel supported by your school, teachers friends and family?**

Yes, my school are amazing at helping out in whatever way they can with things like this.

9 **Was your audition at the RCS in Glasgow or at an external hub?**
I can't remember.

10 **When did you decide not to attend? (If it was a conscious decision)**
I decided not to go when I took part in another day event at RCS and just felt like it wasn't for me

11 **What was the biggest reason not to attend the audition?**
I think it is very stereotypical and I don't believe I would have enjoyed myself from previous experiences at RCS

12 **Do you think you might apply to study at the RCS again at some point in the future?**
Unfortunately no, I understand RCS is an amazing choice and has done amazing things for those in performing arts. However, I have applied to other places as I feel they would be more fitting to me and I would have a more enjoyable experience.

Participant NS3

1 **How did you hear about Transitions 20/40?**

I was a student on a short drama course at the RCS at the time applications were being welcomed and saw it advertised on campus.

2 **Why did you apply for the course?**

I am not sure, sometime near the end of 2014.

3 **Had you been to the RCS before?**

Yes, I attended the drama for beginners modules over a year.

4 **If so, what were your initial impressions of the RCS?**

Very professional, lecturers very good and encouraging of me.

5 **If not, did you have a picture in your head of what the RCS would be like?**

I imagined it to be grand and wonderful which it turned out to be.

6 **What did you think of the application process?**

Straightforward, I spoke with staff on the telephone in relation to my application and whether I would be suitable to apply and found staff very helpful.

7 **Did you feel supported by the RCS in your application to T20/40?**

Yes, by my lecturer on the drama course.

8 **Did you feel supported by your school, teachers friends and family?**

My family supported me.

9 **Was your audition at the RCS in Glasgow or at an external hub?**

I am not sure, but I think in the main campus in Glasgow.

10 **When did you decide not to attend? (If it was a conscious decision)**

Not long before the audition weekend, a few days I think.

11 **What was the biggest reason not to attend the audition?**

I fell pregnant and knew that if I were to be lucky enough to be given a place I would not be able to use it last year as I was due to give birth around the start of the new term and felt it was not fair to waste anyone's time.

12 **Do you think you might apply to study at the RCS again at some point in the future?**

Yes, I would very much like to.
